The Outlook

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THE DYNAMITING OF THE CANADIAN BRIDGE

The action of a German officer or ex-officer who attempted, from the American side, to dynamite a Canadian bridge is described in "The Story of the War." This act was either a criminal act or a military act. If it was a criminal act, the man is extraditable and can therefore, under our treaty with Great Britain, be sent to Canada for trial there. If it was a military act, then our Government is responsible to Great Britain for an act of war against a friendly Power committed on its own soil. This question as to whether it is a criminal or a military act is under consideration by American authorities. Whatever the decision may be, it is clear that our Government must take a definite course in the matter; but it remains to be decided what form that course may assume.

Whatever course may be determined upon after consideration of the legal questions involved will, we hope, be taken promptly and decisively by our Government, which should not permit the violation of its territory by acts of war in any form or under any pretext.

FILIBUSTER AND INSURRECTION

Considered merely as a parliamentary combat, the struggle in the Senate over the Shipping Bill has been one of the most strenuous and exciting events of the kind in our Congressional history. It suggests to the ordinary citizen the question whether there cannot be some more dignified and, one may almost say, more humane way of securing full discussion and deliberate conclusion in those cases where a minority is strong in itself and has a large part of the people behind it. Certainly no measure ever before Congress required more careful consideration and wise rather than precipitant action than this Shipping Bill.

Of the principles involved in the bill we speak elsewhere in this issue; but it is undisputed that its passage, or non-passage, is a most critical point in the relations of this country to the nations at war, and also in the future of American commerce and business. Since the bill was first proposed changes have been made and amendments proposed in great number. Yet, in order to prevent hasty action, Senators of such eminence and distinction as Mr. Lodge and Mr. Root, who are no longer young men, are obliged to continue on duty practically all day and all night, to sleep on couches in the Senate, and to act as if they were in the midst of a physical battle rather than in the business of a venerable and dignified legislative chamber.

The crowning feat of the filibuster against the hasty passage of the bill was Senator Smoot's speech of Saturday, January 30, which broke all records by continuing for eleven and a half hours with practically no cessation or interruption. Then the weary Senate accepted the situation and adjourned until Monday. Other speeches in the Senate have been of greater length—the longest recorded is that of Senator La Follette in 1908, which lasted for eighteen hours and twenty minutes—but in those cases the speaker has been relieved by the reading of long articles by the Clerk of the Senate or by repeated calls for a quorum and consequent roll calls.

The excitement of the filibuster was destined to give way on Monday to the excitement of a party break. Seven Democratic Senators refused to follow the Administration programme of rushing the bill through without amendment, and as late as Wednesday the probabilities seemed to be that the bill would be recommitted to the Committee on Commerce to be amended in accordance with the demands of the insurgent Senators and returned for passage in the new form.

The amendments demanded by the insurgents declare that the Government ownership of ships is an emergency measure and is to continue for only two years; that the bill does not commit the country to a policy of Government ownership, and that no vessels now

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interned belonging to belligerents shall be purchased under the new law. Strictly speaking, the German merchant ships now in New York Harbor are not interned, as this phrase is legally applied only to war-ships held by order, and there is legally nothing to hinder the German ships from sailing out of New York Harbor to-morrow if they wish.

During the discussion of the Ship Purchase Bill there has been an undercurrent of rumors and semi-assurances about what the Administration actually intended to do, or not to do, if the bill were passed. It is so clear as not to be worth arguing, that not unwritten intentions but strictly defined powers written into the bill should be the guide to future Governmental action—in other words, Congress ought not to think even for a moment of passing any bill without knowing just what it means and what is to be done under it.

THE DACIA AGAIN

The much-discussed Dacia has departed from Galveston on the first leg of her journey towards Europe. Her clearance papers read "Rotterdam," though it is purposed to send her along the American coast, at least as far as Norfolk, before she strikes out for her expected destination. Added evidence as to the reception this newly Americanized ship will receive on the other side is contained in an editorial which appeared in the London "Daily Telegraph." "If her transfer be valid," says this editorial, "then, providing other German-American interests can be found to provide the money, there is no reason why every vessel of the enemy—including the great liners—should not be transferred to the American register. In other words, a large portion of the German mercantile marine, which is now lying useless and involving its owners in heavy expense, can in these circumstances be employed in feeding the Germans and supplying them with any goods which are not on the lists of contraband or conditional contraband."

The "Daily Telegraph," however, is satisfied that the case of this steamer and the other German-American liners interned in American ports is completely covered by Article 56 of the Declaration of London, which embodies a ruling to which England in the present war has specifically given her adherence, though of course the Declaration as a whole is not in force.

"The transfer of an enemy vessel to a neutral flag effected after the outbreak of hostilities," it is affirmed, "is void unless it is proved that such transfer was not made in order to evade the consequences to which an enemy vessel, as such, is exposed." There would seem to be no doubt that this particular vessel comes within this definition. Moreover, when she reaches her port the enemy might seize her, with or without her nominal owner's consent, convert her into an armed vessel, and send her to sea in the hope that she might, in the darkness of these long nights, with all lights out, escape the vigilance of our squadrons and get across the Atlantic trade route, destroying our commerce. This is a possibility. What would be the position of the United States in such an event?

It is very probable, indeed almost certain, that the Dacia will be seized and taken to an English prize court before she even touches the neutral soil of Holland. When that court has decided upon her status before international law, there will be ample opportunity for diplomatic exchange on the subject of the Dacia's ultimate disposal. There should be no reason to expect that such problems as may arise cannot be settled by negotiation and arbitration, even though the situation will be a difficult one. In the position which the United States may take in the matter it will be well for us to remember that the establishment of an international precedent very often has reflective effect. As the "Daily Telegraph" says further:

> The issue which the Dacia has raised may exercise a permanent influence on the future of the United States, because that Republic is a great naval power. Her fortunes in any war in which she may become involved will rest in no small measure on the efficiency with which she can use her fleet. To the extent to which the present Administration attempts to tie the hands of the Allies in bringing lawful economic pressure on the enemies, its hands will be tied.

This is certainly a thought which is well worth very careful consideration.

ONE VIEW OF AMERICAN NEUTRALITY

There has been organized in Washington a league for the "re-establishment of real American neutrality, and to uphold it free from commercial, financial, and political subservience to foreign Powers." The initial meeting of the new organization was presided over by a Congressman from Missouri, and three of his colleagues gave approval to the purpose of the meeting by their presence. What the league stands for is shown by the

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following resolution which it adopted as its platform:

"*Resolved*, That we, citizens of the United States, agree to effect a National organization the objects and purposes of which may be stated as follows:

"1. In order to insure the possession of an independent news service we favor an American cable controlled by the Government of the United States.

"2. We demand a free and open sea for the commerce of the United States and unrestricted traffic in non-contraband goods as defined by law.

"3. We favor as a strictly American policy the immediate enactment of legislation prohibiting the export of arms, ammunition, and munitions of war.

"4. We favor the establishment of an American merchant marine; and

"5. We pledge ourselves individually and collectively to support only such candidates for public office, irrespective of party, who will place American interests above those of any other country, and who will aid in eliminating all undue foreign influence from official life."

Since this league seeks to justify its existence by claiming to be an American institution for the promotion of neutrality, it will be fair to judge it according to the standard of its professed ideals. Is it American? Is it neutral?

A QUESTION OF ALLEGIANCE

An American citizen might very properly, so far as international relations are concerned, plead for Government ownership of the cables just as he might plead for Government ownership of the railways. The wisdom of such a plea as an argument for neutrality in war time is entirely another matter, and since the introduction of wireless telegraphy seems particularly irrelevant.

The second article quoted above contains two misstatements of law and fact. American commerce in American bottoms is as free today as commerce can ever be in time of world war. American commerce in foreign bottoms, due to the preponderance of the English navy, is very much freer than it would be were the sea forces of the Powers at war evenly balanced in strength. Furthermore, by no international law has the question of contraband been given the exact seal of legal definition. Precedent, custom, and the needs of nations at war furnish the only existing rules for contraband. To meet an emergency as it arose the United States, in a military order, once included in the proscribed list escaped slaves. To meet another emergency, Germany or England has an equal right, or rather a better right, to prevent the importation of copper or picric acid or gasoline by an enemy country. Naturally, this right is dependent upon the possession of power to enforce it.

The third proposition put forward by the League would indeed deserve to be ranked as a "strictly American project," for it is absolutely without precedent in international law or custom. Article 7 of Convention 4, adopted at The Hague in 1907, specifically affirms the right of citizens in neutral nations to sell arms and ammunition to any belligerent. If so well established a principle of international law is to be altered at all, it must be done in time of peace. To alter it now would in itself be a highly unneutral act in so far as it deprived any belligerent of a military advantage secured by sacrifice of treasure and life.

The Outlook's opinion of the fourth article—the proposition to purchase interned ships must certainly have been in the mind of its author—is again stated elsewhere in this issue.

If this programme is, as it ought to be, judged by its inevitable effect, two things stand out very clearly:

1. A definitely unneutral project is brought forward under the specious guise of promoting neutrality.

2. Under a pretense of removing one foreign influence from American life it is proposed to throw the Government frankly under the influence of another, and this proposal is backed by a threat to employ racial politics in the domestic affairs of the American Nation.

This programme has apparently received the support of many respectable and intelligent German-Americans. The measure of its failure will be the measure by which American citizens of German birth succeed in understanding and realizing their duties toward the spirit of the American Nation.

A SOUND WORD FROM A GERMAN-AMERICAN

That there are German-Americans to whom such a programme is repellent goes without saying. The ablest voice that has yet been raised in criticism of the organizers of this

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new League is that of Professor Kuno Francke, of Harvard. In a letter to Representative Bartholdt, who acted as Chairman of the League's initial meeting recently published in the New York "Times," he says:

My sympathies in this war are wholly and fervently on the German side. But my German sympathies cannot make me forget what seem to me my duties as an American citizen.

I believe it would be against my duties as an American citizen if I were to take part in propaganda the purpose of which will be thought to be to force our Government into a hostile attitude toward England. Your circular letter speaks of England as "America's arch-enemy." It calls for a "new Declaration of Independence" which is to "eliminate all undue English influences from our American life."

As a man of German blood I might welcome the help which would accrue to Germany by such a conflict between the United States and England. But as an American citizen I cannot possibly support a policy which would bring the terrors of war to our own country. What I feel bound to support, as an American citizen, is a policy which holds itself strictly within the now accepted rules of neutrality, although, to my regret, this policy, through circumstances over which the United States has no control, practically turns out to the advantage of England and to the detriment of Germany.

It is to be sincerely hoped that even more than a majority of those Americans of German blood who sympathize as naturally and as fervently as Professor Francke in the struggle of the Fatherland will see the situation that confronts this country just as clearly and judicially.

It is worthy of note, however, that there exists, as shown in Professor Francke's letter, a very great difference in phrase between the circulars sent out by the Neutrality League to German-American citizens and in the resolution adopted for public consumption.

INTERNATIONAL LAW AND THE GERMAN SUBMARINES

As is reported in "The Story of the War," on January 30 the German submarine U 21 sank three British merchantmen in the Irish Sea; and on January 31, in the English Channel off Havre, two other British merchantmen were sent to the bottom by this or another water raider.

In the Irish Sea capture the Germans followed the recognized rule of humanity and the usage of naval war by not destroying the vessels until all the persons on board had been safely re-embarked.

The Germans acted entirely within their rights in sinking the merchantmen in the Irish Sea. In the English Channel case, however, the French charge that the Germans disregarded the rule as to the safety of those on board. In the absence of a German statement of the affair the following statement comes from the French Ministry of Marine:

Hitherto the Germans, before attacking a merchant vessel, always allowed the crew sufficient time to embark in the ship's boats. That custom has now been abandoned, as was shown by the bombardment of the Admiral Ganteaume, which was filled with Belgian women and children refugees.

The Admiral Ganteaume, to which reference is made, was a French steamer sunk on October 26 while on her way from Calais to Havre with a load of Belgian refugees, of whom forty lost their lives. It was announced later that a German submarine had sunk the ship. It is assumed by some that this was a blunder, because the submarine in question made no attack on the rescue ships which came to the Ganteaume's aid. The limited range of the submarine's periscope may have caused the Germans to mistake the ship as a converted merchantman acting as an armed cruiser.

The general rule governing a belligerent captor is that he must bring in a seized vessel for adjudication by a prize court. When this has been impossible, the seized vessel has been destroyed, the persons on board first being saved. Fortunately, the crews of the merchantmen in the Irish Sea were able to get away in their own little boats.

A BLOCKADE OF THE BRITISH ISLES

What excites even more interest, however, is the connection of these events with the rumored intended blockade of the British Isles by Germany. Some time since, Grand Admiral von Tirpitz indicated that Germany would do something in this direction, using mines both to blockade British harbors and to be sown in the lanes used by British shipping.

Now, according to the rules of war, a blockade, to be actual, must be effective—that is to say, must be complete. Such a blockade of the British Isles would mean the exercise of far more sea power than Germany pos-

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sesses. This is not saying, however, that such events as those in the Irish Sea and the English Channel cannot do much to destroy general trade. The task of torpedoing British merchantmen would be a legitimate activity in this direction provided that the enemy had a sufficient number of submarines and that they were of sufficient quality—the largest German boat has a radius of action of over a thousand miles, and the Irish Sea incident took place some eight hundred miles from the home base. At all events, the matter has doubled and trebled the insurance rates for British ships employed about the British coast.

The recent submarine action may indicate that Germany meditates trying to cut off England's food supply. If so, she must also reckon with American, Dutch, and Scandinavian ships. Of course vessels flying the flag of the United States, Holland, Denmark, Norway, Sweden, or other neutral countries are not subject to destruction. They are, however, subject to search, and, if found carrying contraband, are liable to seizure. While foodstuffs not destined for the enemy's armed forces are not contraband, the German Government's recent confiscation of all grain and flour to conserve the nation's food supply has now elicited an order from the British Government to its navy to treat cargoes of grain and flour destined for Germany or Austria as conditional contraband. With regard to the steamship Wilhelmina, laden with foodstuffs, which recently sailed from New York for Bremen, the statement is made that, as she sailed before the German decree was issued, an exception will be made in her case.

THE ARMY AND NAVY APPROPRIATION BILL

Since the last issue of The Outlook the Naval Appropriation Bill has lost its provision for the creation of a General Staff in the Navy Department to take charge of all naval operations. This was stricken out on the instance of Representative Mann, the Republican leader, because it was in effect new legislation tacked upon the appropriation measure. A separate bill has been introduced by Mr. Hobson covering the contested point. He will endeavor to have his bill introduced in the Senate. This, of course, represents the proper method of procedure.

Legislation for the army seems to have struck an obstacle not generally met with in Congress by army bills. In the Senate Mr. Chamberlain, Chairman of the Committee on Military Affairs, has suddenly discovered that the recommendations of the Secretary of War present a continuance of the piecemeal process of army reform for which Congress has been criticised in the past. The necessary wait that would ensue upon a strong demand for the creation of a general measure of army reform would in the present instance result in interfering with the necessary supply for the immediate needs of the service. It would also result, so some critics suspect, in relieving the Treasury from an immediate demand for money that will be useful elsewhere in satisfying the requirements of a padded river and harbor bill or of the measure for the construction of public buildings. In this respect it is army *versus* "pork barrel."

In 1912 the General Staff was instructed to proceed to formulate recommendations to Congress for new legislation. The findings of the Board appointed for this work have been before the War College and the General Staff for some time, but no definite and complete plan for reorganizing the army has yet been agreed upon. Congress, however, ought not to wait for such a plan before proceeding to satisfy the imperative and immediate needs of the army.

THE PRESIDENT AND PROSPERITY

Addressing the Conference of the American Electric Railway Association at Washington the other day, President Wilson recommended business men to be controlled in their transactions by a regard for: (1) publicity—not doing anything under cover; (2) a full equivalent for the money received; (3) conscience; (4) the spirit of service. What the President had to say about present conditions of business may perhaps be best summarized in his own words by the following sentences:

"It seems to me that I can say with a good deal of confidence that we are upon the eve of a new era of enterprise and of prosperity. . . . Enterprise has been checked in this country for almost twenty years because men were moving among a maze of interrogation points. They did not know what was going to happen to them. . . . It was a very great burden, let me say, to fall upon a particular administration of this Government to have to undertake practically the whole business of

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final definition. . . . I feel that the mists and miasmatic airs of suspicion that have filled the world have now been blown away. . . . We have got to trade not only on our efficiency, not only on the service that we render, but on the confidence that we cultivate."

The country is already familiar with the President's view that the business depression which the country has been experiencing is "psychological," due to a "state of mind." This is a view which is not shared by most business men. Perhaps all will admit that the state of mind of business men has something to do with prosperity, and so, perhaps, the President's optimistic remarks will help to relieve the depression. But some of the present state of mind of business men is attributable to the attitude of government towards business. This attitude, they believe, has been unduly suspicious and inquisitorial, especially toward large business enterprises and great corporations because they are great. Therefore business men will welcome the more the President's change of mind indicated in the following words: "Nobody is henceforth going to be afraid or suspicious of any business merely because it is big."

The country is coming to wish, furthermore, that the President's rule of "publicity" might be applied not only to business, but also to government. In putting an end to secret and furtive methods in business, let the Government also bring an end to uncommunicativeness in administrative offices and to the secret caucus in Congress.

"MOTHER JONES" AND MR. ROCKEFELLER

As The Outlook has already reported in last week's issue, one of the most dramatic incidents of the hearing before the Industrial Commission was the meeting between Mr. John D. Rockefeller, Jr., and the strike leader known in labor circles throughout the whole country as "Mother Jones."

The reticent Mr. Rockefeller and the militantly voluble Mrs. Jones seem to have come, if not to a common solution of the problem that faces them both, at least to an understanding and an appreciation of the position and attitude of each other.

When Mr. Rockefeller had finished his testimony before the Commission, he met "Mother" Jones in his office at 26 Broadway, the street number that has played such an important part in all controversial discussions of industrial questions in this country. In an interview with a reporter of the New York "Tribune" "Mother" Jones said of Mr. Rockefeller:

> Well, I'm glad I had this conversation with him. A great deal of the trouble in this world would be avoided if men and women would get together and talk over things.
>
> Take Mr. Rockefeller. I'd misjudged that young man sadly. I called him a high-class burglar. I told him so this afternoon. I said, "Mr. Rockefeller, my name for you has been 'the high-class burglar.'" He laughed, and I must say he took it good-naturedly. But I know him better now, and after talking with me he knows more about his father's mines in Colorado, too.
>
> I said to him: "Mr. Rockefeller, the people in those mining camps should have the right to trade at any store they want to patronize. They have the right to schools run by the State. The company should pay them in cash, not scrip, and leave them free to spend it where they like." And Mr. Rockefeller listened and said to me:
>
> "I think you are right."
>
> I didn't speak of what the poor miner boys have suffered. He knows all that. He knows it, but he hasn't sensed it. You couldn't expect him to, living the life he has. But this hearing has been an eye-opener to him.

Apparently the protests of other labor leaders against the impression that their veteran friend had yielded too much to the personality of Mr. Rockefeller were not without effect, for in a later interview Mother Jones somewhat qualified her earlier attitude towards Mr. Rockefeller:

> So far, Mr. Rockefeller has given only lip service to democracy in industry. His new plan in Colorado masquerades as a basis for collective bargaining. It is the shadow and not the substance. . . . I don't believe Mr. Rockefeller understands the needs and aspirations of the working people yet. If he did understand, and if he is sincere, he would realize that the new scheme for meeting his men in Colorado is a sham and a fraud. He is letting the workers elect one representative at each mine, and these delegates meet with the company officials at Denver. They are absolutely powerless to enforce any just demand.

It is to be hoped that Mr. Rockefeller will find it possible to carry out his expressed intention of going to Colorado and seeing in person the conditions in the mines over which he has so strong an influence. Such a personal investigation might do much to clear away the suspicion and distrust on both sides

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which resulted so very recently in the bitter labor war of Colorado.

WHAT IS COERCION BY AN EMPLOYER?

The United States Supreme Court lately rendered a decision which not only invalidates the so-called Coercion Law of Kansas, but also invalidates similar statutes passed in thirteen other States and in Porto Rico. The Kansas Act made it unlawful under criminal penalties for any employer to coerce or influence an employee to enter into an agreement with the employer not to join or remain a member of a labor union, the agreement being a condition of securing or continuing in employment. The Supreme Court now says in effect that such a law violates the right of contract; that for an employer to exact such an agreement is not coercion; and that the law is an infraction of the Fourteenth Amendment to the Constitution, which declares that no person shall be deprived of life, liberty, or property without due process of law. The decision was not unanimous; Justices Hughes, Holmes, and Day dissented, the last named filing an elaborate dissenting opinion. The majority opinion, while recognizing the right of a man to join unions, denies that he has the right to do this and still remain in the employ of one who is unwilling to employ a union man. It says that a contract for employment is included in the right to make contracts for the acquisition of property, although it may be noted that the Clayton Law just passed declares that a contract of work is not a contract for commodity but for service. To quote the Supreme Court decision, which was delivered by Mr. Justice Pitney:

> To ask a man to agree in advance to refrain from affiliation with the union while retaining a certain position of employment is not to ask him to give up any part of his Constitutional freedom. He is free to decline employment on those terms, just as the employer may decline to offer employment on any other, for it takes two to make a bargain; and, having accepted employment on those terms, the man is still free to join the union when the period of employment expires, or if employed at will, then at any time upon simply quitting the employment. And, if bound by his own agreement to refrain from joining the union during a stated period of employment, he is in no different situation from that which is necessarily incident to contracts in general.

On the other hand, the dissenting opinions declare that it is "the thoroughly established doctrine of this Court that liberty of contract may be circumscribed in the interest of the State and the welfare of its people." No court, says Judge Day, has yet defined precisely the limitations of the police power of a State, and he sees no reason why a State may not under the police power protect the right of an employee to obtain employment without signing away his legal right to join a union. He points out that no one would question that an employer could be forbidden from demanding an agreement that an employee should not join the National Guard or join a certain political party. Why, he asks, would not the same principle apply as to labor unions? Justice Holmes sees no reason, if a workman believes that only by belonging to a union can he secure a fair contract, why his liberty to do so may not be enforced by law "in order to establish the equality of position between the parties in which liberty of contract begins." That collective bargaining is essential to a fair contract for labor is now largely held; a really parallel case would be an attempt of employees through the union to prevent employers from joining in an employers' association.

It seems to us that when the Supreme Court says that a State has no power to pass such a law as the Kansas Coercion Law because it is not coercion which is forbidden, since the employee "is free to decline employment," the Court does not recognize the existence of actual industrial conditions, which make the freedom to decline employment frequently equivalent to the freedom to starve.

With all due respect to the authority and finality of the Supreme Court majority decision, it may be believed that the large questions here involved may hereafter come up in some different form for further consideration.

MUST A MAN ACCEPT A PARDON AGAINST HIS WILL?

A second decision by the Supreme Court disposes of a singular question and undoubtedly disposes of it in the right way. It is recognized law that a witness may refuse to answer a question on the ground that it will incriminate himself. In this case a newspaper man on the staff of the New York "Tribune" declined before a Federal Grand Jury to tell the sources of his information for articles in the "Tribune" regarding alleged customs fraud under investigation by the Grand Jury.

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He claimed that his answers might incriminate him. He was called a second time before the Grand Jury and was handed a pardon signed by the President of the United States for anything he might have done in connection with the publication of articles about the alleged frauds. He promptly refused to accept this pardon for a supposed crime for which he had not been convicted. He also refused again to answer questions, and was by the District Court found guilty of contempt and fined five hundred dollars. The Supreme Court reverses the action of the District Court. It makes a clear distinction between legislative immunity and a pardon, in that the latter carries an imputation of guilt and the acceptance of the pardon a confession of guilt, whereas the former is non-committal; practically when the witness claims immunity he stands silent, he does not admit guilt. Moreover, a pardon need not be accepted; for, as the Court says, "a pardon is a deed, to the validity of which delivery is essential, and delivery is not complete without acceptance."

Both law and common fairness amply sustain the decision of the Supreme Court in this case. It does not, it may be added, include any expression of opinion upon the claim that has been made in this and similar cases that the relation between a newspaper and its informant is inviolable, like that of lawyer and client.

A PROCESSION OF PRESIDENTS

Roque Gonzalez Garza, made by Villa Provisional President of Mexico after the flight of Eulalio Gutierrez, and now a fugitive from Mexico City before Carranza's advance, is the ninth President or Provisional President who has attempted to serve out the term of Porfirio Diaz which began in 1910. Of these nine Huerta served the longest, while one of the Presidents, Pedro Lascurain, served less than one hour. Garza is the youngest chief executive that has ever attempted to rule the turbulent Republic. Portraits of Garza and the other four men who have at least claimed to be Provisional President since Huerta's flight appear in our picture section. Whether or not Garza has formally resigned seems uncertain. General Obregon now holds Mexico City for Carranza.

Gonzalez Garza is a man of about thirty years of age; he was born in Parras, State of Coahuila, and was a lifelong friend of the late Francisco I. Madero. At the time of the outbreak of the Madero revolution Garza was appointed a major of volunteers, and, occupying the same rank, he served during the greater part of the first revolution on the staff of Madero. Following the installation of Madero at Mexico City Garza became private secretary to the President, and in this capacity was intrusted with many important missions, one of which was the attempt to make peace between Pascual Orozco and Madero. While on this mission Garza was captured by Orozco and was ordered executed. General Victoriano Huerta is credited with having secured his pardon and release.

Following the assassination of Madero, Garza, who had been elected to the House of Deputies, escaped from the country and came to the United States. He immediately affiliated himself with the Constitutionalist movement, and was appointed by General Villa a Judge of the Military Court of the Division of the North. At the Aguas Calientes conference Garza attained prominence as the floor leader of the Villa delegates, and at the close of the stormy sessions of the convention he was chosen chairman of the permanent Committee of Twenty-one. When the conference reconvened at Mexico City on January 1, Garza was made President. Garza has always been regarded as a stanch Villista.

THE ORDER OF GOING

Francisco de la Barra followed Diaz when the latter was exiled to Europe. After a term of a few weeks de la Barra turned over the reins of government to Madero. Following a stormy tenure of office Madero was shot down by an assassin in February, 1912. Between the time he was made prisoner and his assassination Pedro Lascurain, one of his Ministers, served as President. He was succeeded by General Victoriano Huerta.

Francisco Carbajal followed Huerta when the latter, beaten at every turn by Villa, fled to Europe. Carbajal remained in office but a few days. One night, when the Carranza forces had advanced almost to the outskirts of the capital, he hastily summoned his Cabinet and determined on flight. For a few hours Mexico was without a President.

Carranza followed Carbajal, only to evacuate the capital after a stormy term of office. Next Gutierrez was appointed by the Aguas Calientes conference to serve out Diaz's term.

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From the first he incurred the bitter enmity of the Zapata faction, besides the distrust of Villa. His flight was followed by the appointment of Garza.

Of the nine Presidents, one, Madero, is dead; three, Diaz, de la Barra, and Huerta, are living in exile in Europe; two, Lascurain and Carbajal, are living in exile in the United States; and three, Carranza, Gutierrez, and Garza, are still living in Mexico.

This review of recent history does not promise much for civilization in Mexico in the near future.

THE CHANT OF HATE AND GERMAN OPINION

In The Outlook for October 28 we published a "Chant of Hate" against England by Ernst Lissauer. On the same page there was placed an English war poem significant of the attitude of some of her citizens towards the enemy of the Allies.

Certainly no one would attempt to say that English writers as a whole have been free from the inability to visualize the feeling of their foes. Even so distinguished a writer as William Watson has come dangerously close to the blind bitterness of Lissauer. There have, on the other hand, in England been poets, as Alfred Noyes, who can distinguish even in this time of international blackness the element of sincerity and faith in the contention of their adversaries.

It is this inability to see with the eyes of others that makes such very hard sledding for German apologists in neutral countries. Even in such vital matters as the presentation of their position in the present war they have all too frequently ignored the simplest axioms of human nature. Too often they have begun the statement of their case with the attitude, if not the words, of the aged Professor of Philosophy at the University of Berlin, Adolf Lasson: "A man who is not German knows nothing of Germany. We are morally and intellectually superior to all, without peers. . . . In a world of wickedness we represent love, and God is with us." This is not the avenue of approach which would lead a listener to say, "Almost thou persuadest me to be a German." In so many ways the spirit and genius of the German nation is so superior to its chosen advocates that such provincial utterances make bad reading for those who realize all that Germany has accomplished in organization of her industries, in the patience of her research and the development of her civic government.

The news that Ernst Lissauer has been honored for his poem by his Emperor's award of the Red Eagle of the fourth class will not make any easier a fair discrimination between German people and German apologists.

LOUVAIN PROFESSORS AT HARVARD

Harvard University is the first of American institutions to extend the hospitality of its walls to the dispossessed and disinherited staff of the University of Louvain. Two of the professors of the Belgian institution are to become members of the Harvard faculty for the rest of the scholastic year. They are Professor Charles Jean de la Vallée Poussin and Professor Léon S. Dupriez. Professor Poussin is a distinguished mathematician and Professor Dupriez is a very well known student of constitutional law. The latter, during his stay at Harvard, will lecture on "The Introduction and Working of Proportional Representation in Belgium." At a time when his country has been driven so far from orderly progress in social development, reflection upon her achievements of this kind in the past must be bitter effort for Professor Dupriez. It is almost as though Charles Sumner had lived to lecture upon the "rise of our free democracy" after the establishment of slave power in Boston.

While the appointment of these Louvain professors at Harvard represents an offered refuge rather than the establishment of a regular exchange between two great universities, it is well to remember how sadly this war has shattered what has been often regarded as the "modern" system of interchange between institutions of learning. Most people have easily assumed that the exchange professorship was a new device, but there is as little basis for that assumption as there is for the idea that many other details of our daily lives are new and purely Western. The traveler in Japan who runs across a revolving bookcase or a warming-pan learns something of the universality of the inventive mind. As to exchange professors, a well-known Arab teacher was describing to an American friend his experience in teaching in a university in northern Africa. When his friend asked him if exchange teaching was not a new thing in the East, he promptly replied, "In the Mohammedan world we have

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been exchanging teachers for something like eight hundred years."

Just as the fall of Constantinople in 1453 scattered Greek learning through Europe, the destruction of the University of Louvain, associated as it was with Erasmus and many other notable teachers in the past, has given an American university the opportunity of coming in contact with the culture of one of the oldest universities in Europe. This is slight comfort indeed for an irreparable disaster, but it is one which is significant at least of the fact that in the higher interests of life, religion, philosophy, and the arts, there can be no truly national boundaries. It is a provincial mind that seeks to arrogate to any one nation all the virtues of the human spirit.

MR. SHAW'S NEW PLAY

It is never easy to put Mr. Shaw's meaning into definite phrases. His peculiar genius eludes definition; and if he thought himself in any danger of being understood by the average mind he would instantly escape in some characteristic bit of irony.

"Androcles and the Lion," now playing in New York, will take its place with the most esoteric of Mr. Shaw's dramas. It is short, but it is packed with incidents and phrases calculated to baffle the average theater-goer. Taking the old story of the man who pulled the thorn out of a lion's paw and who afterwards met the lion in the arena in Rome and was spared by the king of beasts as a matter of gratitude, Mr. Shaw proceeds to let his ironic humor play over a group of Christian martyrs and their Roman guards. The play has been called a comedy; but that is altogether too easy a description. Comedy, tragedy, satire, and irony tread so closely on one another's heels that it is not possible for any one except Mr. Shaw to mark the line where one ends and the other begins. In parts the play is below the line of comedy; it is pure farce; then it suddenly rises into the region of serious and even tragic eloquence; and then, in a moment, it slips back or slides off into laughable comedy.

Granting the fundamental irony of a Roman Emperor who claims to be divine persecuting a body of helpless men and women, the irony of the play is perfectly legitimate until it touches the martyrs themselves. There is no reason why Christianity itself should not be satirically treated if a man is so minded; there is every reason in the world why men and women in the presence of death and ready to face it should silence the irreverent satirist; and even his most ardent advocates must admit that, whatever wit Mr. Shaw may possess, he is entirely lacking in reverence.

It is impossible to see the play without feeling its application to the European struggle now in progress. He has said that the Christian churches ought to be closed while the war continues; and that the Christian nations that are now fighting and praying to their own God are really worshiping Mars.

Ferrovius, the Christian athlete in the play, is greatly concerned because his fiery temper and his terrible strength run away with him, and he fears that he may lose his soul at the critical moment by not turning the other cheek when he is struck. When he finally gets into the arena, being himself practically naked, he kills six powerful gladiators, and the Emperor chants his praises and announces that he will confer upon him a crown of laurel and appoint him to the Pretorian Guard. Ferrovius accepts the appointment with the statement that the God of Christianity is the God of the future, and that in the meantime he will serve the God of the present. The application to present conditions is obvious.

CARL GOLDMARK

With the death of Carl Goldmark another link with a great era in the history of music has been broken. That Jewish composer, of Hungarian birth, was a contemporary of such great figures as Chopin, Mendelssohn, Schumann, Liszt, Verdi, Bizet, Gounod, Wagner, and Brahms. He was only twenty-one years younger than Chopin and Mendelssohn, only twenty years younger than Schumann, and was actually older than Brahms. He was born in 1830, Brahms in 1833. Living in a time like this, it is natural that Goldmark should have been overshadowed. He was not a great composer—not even as great as such comparatively minor composers as Bizet and Gounod; but he had that mystic and rare gift of melody. What is it that makes one melody haunting and beautiful, and another commonplace and doomed to oblivion? No one has been able fully to answer that question, and no one can explain why some have the gift of creating such melodies and others have not.

On the operatic stage Goldmark will be remembered for some time by his opera "The Queen of Sheba," which was one of

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the earliest popular operas composed by one who accepted Wagner's doctrines and theories of dramatic composition. As an opera, however, it seems old-fashioned in form now in comparison with the later works of Wagner's followers. In concert halls Goldmark will be perhaps best remembered as the composer of the tuneful and enduring "Sakuntala Overture."

Goldmark had no personal association, so far as we know, with his greater musical contemporaries. His life does not seem to have been very eventful except for one incident in his youth, when he was accused of being one of the revolutionaries of 1848, and was nearly executed. One thinks of him at work and in his studio as pictured on another page in this issue. He was a sound musician, a master of instrumentation, and a thorough workman. His compositions do not sound the depths of experience as do the works of Brahms, nor dazzle by pomp and brilliance as do the works of Liszt; but they have given a vast deal of enjoyment to uncounted numbers of people in all lands; and, after all, that is not unworthy of the lifetime of a gifted man if, in the giving of that enjoyment, he has been as loyal to his artistic ideals as Goldmark was.

A PROPHECY FULFILLED

When the main building at Wellesley College was burned, The Outlook, after commenting on the rare courage and intelligence with which the catastrophe was met at the time, expressed its conviction that what seemed a great calamity would prove to an institution which had shown such a spirit to be a great opportunity. Events have justified that prophecy.

Last April the work of raising the sum of $2,000.000 was begun by the trustees and alumnæ of the institution. Some months earlier committees had been appointed to help raise a million-dollar endowment fund, of which $430,000 had already been secured, in pledges and gifts, before the fire. After the fire the scope of these committees was enlarged to include a foundation for restoration. Bishop Lawrence, the President of the Board of Trustees, has said that never in his experience had he seen a difficult situation more competently dealt with than that which followed the destruction of the main building and the erection of a temporary building, with hardly a perceptible interruption of the administrative and teaching work of the College.

The same competency was shown in the organization of the alumnæ committee. The entire country was divided into districts; Wellesley clubs and State committees were grouped; class committees were added; and in the end over a hundred organized groups of the graduates and friends of the College were working to secure contributions, and, in many ways, to make additions to the fund. Amateur theatricals, concerts, and moving-picture shows were among the devices. The most attractive and profitable of the moving pictures was that which showed to audiences in many parts of the country Tree-Day dancing at Wellesley, the Float, athletic sports, and a Greek play in the beautiful grounds of the College. This charming spectacle secured several thousand dollars for the fund. There was an "investment circle," the members of which invested certain definite sums in raw materials and sold the finished products. There was a sale of "white elephants," a very happy phrase for articles which were good but could not be used. In one small New England town two Wellesley women, one of them a graduate of thirty years ago, made pickles for the fund, and the other taught the tango; and one little Southern girl made and sold cookies which netted thirty-five dollars.

As the result of all these activities, inspired and sustained by the courage, poise, and enthusiasm of Miss Pendleton, the very efficient President of Wellesley, the contribution of $950,000 made by the two Rockefeller Foundations after a full and careful investigation of the work and methods of the College was enlarged by the sum of $1,100,000, raised by and through the alumnæ of the College. Contributions came from every State and Territory in the Union, from six European countries, and from Japan, China, Korea, Burma, India, Turkey, and Persia.

On January 15 Bishop Lawrence announced that the College was free from debt, and that, including $560,000 from insurance, there had been secured in cash and pledges through the combined efforts of trustees, alumnæ, undergraduates, and other friends of the College, $3,040,531.60 for restoration and endowment.

Perhaps the most illuminating fact in tnis striking achievement is found in the statement that nearly eighty per cent of the graduates of the College personally contrib-

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uted to the fund, and these contributors are largely self-supporting women on small or moderate incomes. The story of the fire and of the way in which the emergency was met furnishes the most convincing evidence of the soundness of the educational spirit and methods of Wellesley College, and is a noble addition to the endowment of the College.

THE SHIP PURCHASE BILL

In the Administration's Ship Purchase Bill as originally planned there was great peril to this country. Whether that peril has been averted by the revolt of seven Democrats in the Senate last week, which seemed to insure the recommitting of the bill to a Senate Committee for revision, we are not sure. The sudden turn of affairs which has interfered with the progress of the bill may, it is conceivable, be followed by another turn of affairs that will tend to hasten it toward enactment. If the country at large had realized the evil possibilities involved in this measure, public opinion would have demanded what the party in power has been unwilling to allow—thorough and deliberate discussion of the proposal or its complete abandonment. As it is, the country owes a great deal more than it knows to the Republican Senators who have stood stanchly against the rushing of this bill through the Senate, and to those seven Democratic Senators who, at considerable political sacrifice, have broken party bonds in order to serve an interest larger than that of party—the interest of the country as a whole.

It is not possible to understand what peril there was—and still may be—in this Ship Purchase Bill without keeping in mind what it is that makes the present war radically different from every other great international war that was ever fought.

This difference is not a difference of guns or armaments, a difference of strategy or tactics, a difference of mechanics as exemplified by aircraft, motor transport, and wireless telegraphy. It is a difference in the character of the participants—a difference in the nature of the armies engaged.

This difference is inscribed in huge characters upon the face of the Continent of Europe—those lines of trenches stretching from the Alps to the Channel and across disunited Poland. Never before have such vast masses of men been engaged in war. Fighting is no longer carried on by armies as they used to be known, but by armies of a new kind. In earlier days the soldier, whether professional or volunteer or conscript, was marked out from the rest of the people. To-day every able-bodied man in such a country as Germany or France is, will be, or has been a soldier. In earlier days the ruler went forth to battle, leading as his troops a body of specialists, if we may so call them. To-day nation rises against nation. In earlier days it was easy to distinguish between the combatant and the non-combatant. To-day in such a country as Germany or France that is an exceptional family which has not supplied or is not prepared to supply to the army a fighting man. Once on a time soldiers constituted as distinct a class in the country as the policemen, or the office-holders, or the lawyers. To-day in such countries as France, policemen, office-holders, lawyers, and all other classes, including the clergy, are (with the exception of those who for some reason are incapacitated) soldiers. This change is one phase of the growth of democracy. Just as the people no longer leave their public affairs to the management of a class, so the people of the Continental countries of Europe have taken from the warrior class and to themselves the waging of warfare.

To this rule of popular warfare England, of all the countries involved, is the sole exception; and this is due to her isolation, and is evident in the minor part which her armies have taken in the fighting. Moreover, as the war proceeds it will become more and more an exception in form rather than in fact. Of the other countries involved the rule is without exception. It is no longer a selected body of troops that is fighting for France, but it is Frenchmen; it is no longer a selected body of troops that is fighting for Germany, but Germans. This change in the character of warfare was foreseen. As a French military writer says in a book published before the war: "It must not be forgotten that it is not 200,000 or 300,000 men, but 1,500,000 or 2,000,000 who, for instance, will be engaged on either side in a Franco-German war; and we may anticipate a battle which will bring to grips 3,000 000 of men on a front of 150 to 250 miles." This was foreseen because such countries as France and Germany have made military duty a part of

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the obligation of every competent man. In this respect, therefore, the army of monarchical and oligarchical Germany is as democratic in its make-up as the army of republican France. Indeed, perhaps of no country in Europe can it be said with so little qualification that the nation's army is the nation in arms as Germany. Of this fact the Germans are proud. The semi-official pamphlet entitled "Truth about Germany: Facts about the War," repeatedly calls attention to this character of the German army. It speaks of the "universal military service, which, as is well known, requires every able-bodied German to serve a number of years with the colors, and later to hold himself ready, first as a reservist, then as a member of the Landwehr, and finally as a member of the Landsturm, to spring to arms at the call of his supreme war lord, the German Emperor." It quotes Bismarck's saying to the effect that "the German army, since it is an army of the folk itself, is not a weapon for frivolous aggression." It speaks of this war as "the people's war in the truest sense of the word," and says that in order to be free the Germans "have been forced to become a nation of soldiers."

What has all this to do with the American Ship Purchase Bill?

This change in the character of armies engaged in war changes the position of every neutral country. In the old days, when the army of a nation could be easily distinguished from the people of the nation, it was comparatively easy to separate supplies intended for the people from the supplies intended for the army. To-day, when the people are the army, this is no longer possible.

Therefore the duties of a neutral Government, at best beset with difficulties, are made more difficult and delicate by the new conditions of warfare. What shall we say of a neutral Government which under such circumstances undertakes to add to its duties new complexities?

Merchants in a neutral nation are free to supply to any belligerent they can safely reach munitions of war and other contraband. This right of private parties is unquestioned, and it is a right that should be preserved. If it did not exist, every small and peaceably inclined nation would be forced to build up a great machinery for the manufacture of its own war materials. The denial of this right to neutral merchants would be a great incentive to the expenditure for armaments on the part of the very nations who are least inclined to military aggression. But this right to supply munitions of war and other army supplies to a belligerent is a right that should be exercised only by private concerns and never by a neutral Government. Under modern conditions in which such a belligerent as Germany is a nation in arms, all food, all material for clothing, and a great many other articles of commerce may well be considered contraband. If, for example, cotton is shipped to France from America, it is certain that that cotton will help to clothe Frenchmen in the trenches. American merchants have a right to help clothe those Frenchmen who for the time being are soldiers, but the American Government has no such right; and if it undertook to do so it would occasion a just cause of grievance to the German people. Every ounce of food that goes into Germany helps to sustain the German people, and as they are a people in arms, it helps to sustain the German army. The American merchant has a right to ship such food to Germany if he can; but if the American Government undertakes to do so, it occasions a just cause of grievance to the Allies.

This is exactly what the Administration's Ship Purchase Bill, in its original form at least, would have enabled the American Government to do. And any measure that would enable the American Government to do this would inevitably arouse suspicion and unfriendly feeling in the minds of the people of that nation whose enemy would be most likely to benefit. It happens that Germany would be most likely to benefit; but the peril and the difficulty would be just the same if it were England or France that would be most likely to benefit.

Let us suppose for an instance a situation contrary to present facts. Let us suppose that Germany by her great skill in devising and in navigating a new kind of submarine had succeeded in isolating Great Britain. Suppose, as a consequence, British commerce had been driven from the Atlantic. Suppose that British shipping were virtually interned in American harbors. And then suppose that such a bill as this Ship Purchase Bill were to be passed, which provides for the purchase of ships by the American Government for use in transoceanic trade. Would not there be a just complaint on the part of Germans that the United States was undertaking to offset the advantage which Germany had won through

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its skill in submarine warfare? Suppose such a ship owned by the American Government and loaded, not with munitions of war, like cannon or ammunition, but with food and cloth, were held up by a German submarine and seized. Would not American public opinion become aroused at German defiance of the American Government? Could anything be more surely devised to create misunderstanding and enmity between Germans and Americans? Let those German-Americans who have been advocating the Ship Purchase Bill contemplate such a situation as that.

As a matter of fact, the situation is reversed. German shipping is virtually interned in American harbors, and German steamships are for sale to any one who wishes to buy. England, by her naval superiority, has swept the seas of German commerce, and is able to intercept practically every vessel that is bound with contraband to a German port. With the seizure of stores of food in Germany by the German Government for the sake of conserving the food supply of the army, there is additional reason for regarding all food supplies as contraband. The private merchant who wishes to risk the purchase of a German ship now in an American port, and load it with food supplies for Germany, is well within his rights if he takes the risk; but he has no ground for complaint if, when he encounters a British cruiser, his vessel and its freight are seized by the British Government. But suppose it were a vessel belonging, not to a private concern, but to the Government of the United States. We could not expect any other outcome but the inflaming of British sentiment against the United States and the inflaming of American sentiment against Great Britain.

It has been said that such a course on the part of the United States would not lead to war, because as soon as an American Government vessel was seized by Great Britain the rights in the case would be the subject of argument before a British prize court, and if the decision went against the United States the matter could be submitted to arbitration. True enough, so far as the legal questions involved are concerned, but not true at all so far as those deeper questions of national sensibility are concerned. Moreover, there are other considerations besides the chance of war. To create unfriendliness in a friendly people for the sake, not of a principle, but of an imagined money profit is to commit the sort of blunder that has been called worse than a crime.

Moreover, the United States has its own future to think of. The sympathies of the people of America have been overwhelmingly for the cause of the Allies, because the American people believe that the Allies are fighting for democracy against autocracy. They cannot help feeling that way, and therefore they cannot help the unfriendliness of the Germans, however much they may deplore it. The United States has failed, on the other hand, to give that support to the cause of Belgium which many English people believe it ought to have given. As a consequence, there has grown up in England a feeling of disappointment in America which in some cases is akin to unfriendliness. Whether the United States could have helped that or not, it is too late now to prevent it altogether. Russia does not forget that we abrogated an important treaty with her in a spirit of criticism and reproof. Japan does not forget that her citizens have been treated with suspicion in this country without any exhibition of effective interference on the part of our Government. And all of these countries, as well as other countries, have found little to please them in our attitude toward Mexico while the property and the persons of their citizens have suffered. We have not been storing up a treasury of friendship in other nations. It cannot be that they are all at fault and we are right; but whether they are or not, we have no great margin of friendliness on which to draw. To invite further friction would be folly; what shall we say of an attempt to buy such friction by the payment of millions of dollars? That is what the Ship Purchase Bill was and still may be.

When this war is over, we shall still have to live in the same world with the belligerents. If we have to suffer any consequence from the unfriendliness of any one of them, let us see that we do it in a matter, not of dollars, but in a matter of principle. And if the United States is to have any part in the attempt to bring about a just peace, as President Wilson believes that it shall have, it will not be by inviting the suspicion of any of those nations that are now in the struggle.

On that day when the Ship Purchase Bill finally expires there will be good reason for every patriotic American to breathe a sigh of relief.

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THE VETO OF THE IMMIGRATION BILL

Among President Wilson's state papers few will rank with his veto of the Immigration Bill. It may fairly be called a great document. Its greatness is twofold. It is one of the most happily and effectively expressed statements made by a President whose felicity of phrase is unusual; that in the first place. In the second place, it records one of the most important of his Executive acts. It would not be unreasonable to count this act as the most important in his career as President.

Few Presidents have shown so much reluctance to exercise the veto power as has President Wilson. His conception of the close connection between the executive and the legislative branches of the Government has made him feel that such a disagreement between Congress and the President as is indicated by a veto is something to be greatly deplored and avoided if possible. That is why at the very outset he expresses his "unaffected regret" that he has felt compelled to veto the bill. But he puts so potently the reasons why the bill should be vetoed that we hope those members of Congress who have not felt the force of those reasons will feel them now.

The two points "of vital consequence" which he selects for disapproval are the two points which have occasioned alarm in the minds of many who have watched with anxiety the progress of this bill from its introduction to its reception by the President.

The first point that he speaks of is the most important—the provision respecting the exclusion of revolutionists. Of this the President says: "It seeks to all but close entirely the gates of asylum which have always been open to those who could find nowhere else the right and opportunity of constitutional agitation for what they conceive to be the natural and inalienable rights of men. . . ." It is this provision which, if it had been enacted, would have subjected every such revolutionary as Kossuth, or Carl Schurz, or Tschaikovsky, to a secret trial without counsel, and an unappealable decision to return him to the hands of the tyrannous Government which he had opposed. It is a monstrous provision. President Wilson's condemnation of it ought to be fatal to it.

The other point that he speaks of is the provision establishing the literacy test. Of this he says that "it excludes those to whom the opportunities of elementary education have been denied, without regard to their character, their purposes, or their natural capacity." Though the arguments for this provision have appealed to many people whose intelligence and Americanism are unquestioned, they are specious; and President Wilson's statement of the case which we have quoted puts the real nature of that provision in a nutshell. And President Wilson goes to the root of the matter in pointing out that the literacy test is a test, not of selection, but merely of restriction. And he adds: "If the people of this country have made up their minds to limit the number of immigrants by arbitrary tests, and so reverse the policy of all the generations of Americans that have gone before them, it is their right to do so. I am their servant, and have no license to stand in their way. But I do not believe that they have." We do not believe that they have, either. And on this ground President Wilson stands with President Taft and President Cleveland.

No man in Congress who votes to override the President's veto of this bill and to enact its un-American, un-Democratic, un-Republican, unjust provisions, should fail to be severely called to account by his constituents.

SOME OLD NOVELS

The announcement of the death of Miss Anne Warner, at the age of eighty-seven, recalls a group of stories read with deep interest by our fathers in the fifties and sixties of the last century, and now as completely out of fashion as the coats and gowns worn when "The Wide, Wide World" was as provocative of tears as was Miss Kate Claxton's acting in "The Two Orphans" in the seventies; it was said that in the throng that crowded Union Square on a late Saturday afternoon those who had seen that emotional drama could be recognized by the condition of their eyes. There had been good, though not great, fiction since the delicate art of Hawthorne had touched the imagination of American readers with its crepuscular charm, but the popular novels in those primitive days, unvexed by monthly reports of the "best sellers," were as remote in quality and style from "The Scarlet Letter" as is "The Eyes of the World" from

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"Henry Esmond" or "Adam Bede." "Uncle Tom's Cabin," a novel full of defects but of a dynamic quality, was carried on a wave of popular feeling to almost every part of the world, and was in a class by itself.

Men and women were not ashamed of tears when, earlier in the century, "Charlotte Temple" appealed to the emotions, and they were not frightened into good taste when Poe amused himself by tearing that absurd story "Norman Leslie" to tatters. There were Americans who knew and loved good writing, but the average reader was as innocent of art feeling as the Pension Office in Washington or the Post-Office in New York is innocent of any semblance of good architecture. And, to make matters worse, people loved to weep. To-day many of the novels which run into large editions indicate that people no longer weep; they swear!

"The Wide, Wide World," "Queechy," "The Hills of the Shatemuc," which some of us found in our grandfathers' libraries, were gentle, well-bred stories written by two refined gentlewomen of the old school. They were as far removed from some of the women who are trying to convince the world that what they call free love has any relation to freedom or love as their stories are from such extraordinary examples of disrobing in public as "Three Weeks." It was possible to read the novels of the Misses Warner and not feel the need of immediate fumigation. When one reads Mrs. Parnell's account of her acquaintance with her late husband, one understands how Adam and Eve felt when they suddenly realized that they were naked. We began by nibbling at the fruit of the tree of knowledge of evil and disrobed so slowly that we do not realize how far we have gone in the direction of nudity until we compare some of the novels of to-day with some of the novels of day before yesterday.

"The Wide, Wide World" and "Queechy" were as tearful as they were gentle and clean; their heroines wept freely and fainted often. Man was an object of fascinating terror to them, a being whose appearance was greeted by blushing and a shrinking modesty which is now only a memory; and the men were often prigs of an intolerable loftiness of bearing. In one of the stories a theological student black with broadcloth and rigid with professional dignity is parting for a time from the ingenuous girl to whom he has "plighted his troth." She is a human creature and tries to embrace him. He gently but firmly disentangles himself and says: "My little children, keep yourselves from idols." It is a very lofty and affecting scene, and one small boy who read it felt that he was in the presence of a superior being. How unlike the superman of to-day!

These fine old absurdities have gone into the attic, with the old bonnets and the preposterous waistcoats and high hats of the mid-Victorian period. Many of the popular novels of to-day are cheap and showy and vulgar; a few are indecent and offensive to every instinct of wholesome thinking and living; but, compared with "Queechy" and "The Wide, Wide World," and the stories of Mrs. Ann S. Stephens and Mrs. E. D. E. N. Southworth, which succeeded them in popular favor, they are much more alive. The quickened pace of the world has imparted rapidity to the contemporary novel; even when it is devoid of art it often has vitality. Life is the source of art, and when life stirs, even in crude forms, there is hope for the future.

Thackeray gave great offense to local patriotism in a Southern city when, in answer to the question, "What do they think of Miss Evans in England?" he answered, "They do not think of her at all." "Beulah" and "St. Elmo" showed wider range of reading than "Retribution" and the other fifty or sixty stories which bore Mrs. Southworth's name, but they are written in a preposterously inflated style, pretentious, rococo, and as "colorful" as early Pullman or mid-North German Lloyd; a kind of decorated encyclopædia style, highly impressive to the intellectually immature. One small boy who recalls the spell they cast upon him can think of nothing that seemed to him so tremendous and overpowering until, later, he fell upon "Faust" for the first time.

With "The Eyes of the World" ravaging the taste of the "big public to-day," one wonders if the taste of that public has improved; but, recalling even the most uninspired "best seller," it is evident that there has been a gain not only in vitality but in simplicity. Mr. Howells, whose work is literature and has little in common with many popular novels, has not preached and practiced the gospel of sincerity and naturalness in vain.

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THE STORY OF THE WAR

BY GREGORY MASON AND GEORGE KENNAN

I—A REVIEW OF THE WEEK

BY GREGORY MASON

THE daring operations of German submarines in the Irish and English Channels during the week January 27–February 3 brought the war home to Great Britain with almost as much of its grim reality as the naval bombardment of Scarborough and the aerial attack on Yarmouth. That is what Germany is trying to do. Even if she cannot invade England in force, if she can harry the British public into a state of terror, she believes she may induce Great Britain to consider peace on terms not crushing to the Fatherland. But unless she can make the isolated British stay-at-homes feel the horror of war as the non-combatants of Belgium, France, and Servia have felt it, Germany knows that England is not likely to seek an early peace. We may expect submarine and aerial efforts against Great Britain to increase in frequency as the war goes on.

These submarine attacks bring far more material loss to England than the Zeppelin raids, however. The German submarine, reported to be the U21, which blew up three British coasters in the Irish Sea near Liverpool was dangerously near the track of the great British transatlantic liners. Great Britain is the one nation at war which is greatly dependent upon imported foodstuffs, and, even though Germany's main fleet continues to be bottled up in her harbors indefinitely, if she could send forth a sufficient number of submarines of the evident great cruising radius of these which just sank five merchant ships, England might find herself facing something closely akin to a blockade. Then, with the tables reversed, Great Britain might seek her food in American ships as Germany is now seeking hers.

At any rate, laymen as well as naval experts can find much of interest in this latest proof of submarine efficiency, which goes far toward confirming the claims made for these underwater craft by Admiral von Tirpitz. In an interview with a newspaper man at Rotterdam, on December 22, the German Grand Admiral said:

"I believe that a war of submarines made on English merchant ships will have more effect than even an invasion of England by means of Zeppelins.

"We have learned a great deal about submarines in this war. We thought that they would not be able to remain much longer than three days away from their base, as the crew would then necessarily be exhausted. But we soon learned that the larger type of these boats can navigate around the whole of England and can remain absent as long as a fortnight."

The point in the Irish Sea where the German submarine sank the steamer Ben Cruachan is a minimum sea distance of 1,100 miles from the German naval base at Heligoland. That makes a round trip of 2,200 miles. The sea ferrets of the type of the U17 were supposed to have a cruising radius of only 2,000 miles. Therefore either the Germans have a secret base somewhere in the enemy's territory—perhaps in the Orkney Islands—or they have made eleventh-hour improvements in their submarines. The latter supposition seems more probable to me, especially in view of the fact that it is now possible to build submarines which can safely undertake cruises of 3,000 miles and more. The "fleet submarine" soon to be built for the United States navy will be able to cruise 3,500 miles.

LITTLE ACTION ASHORE

While the week brought forth little decisive news of land operations, it produced several political items of ominous nature. The Russians have launched a new offensive in East Prussia with Königsberg as their goal, but their claims that they have already closed in on Insterburg and virtually surrounded Tilsit are denied by the Germans. The tide of battle has swung back and forth in this region so many times already that until one side or the other admits serious defeat the main significance in the Russian attempt will lie in the fact that it will probably force the Germans to weaken their army facing Warsaw in order to bolster their lines in East Prussia.

While there is no agreement between Russian and Austrian reports of operations

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in the Carpathians, and while Austria's claim that her soldiers have recaptured the important Uzsok Pass has not been verified, it seems pretty certain that the Russian sweep through Bukowina has been halted. This may be due to the arrival of Germans on the Austrian front, but it is noteworthy that in Armenia the Slav tide seems to have been stopped also. Thus far mighty Russia has proved as powerless as England and France to make any deep thrust into the enemy's territory. In France and Belgium the weekly seesaw, with its accompaniment of artillery duels, has become so monotonous that one is tempted to omit mention of it entirely. The only noteworthy event of the past week in this area was the sacrifice of the lives of about 20,000 of the Kaiser's soldiers in a vain effort to get that monarch a morsel of territory for a present on his birthday, January 27.

The ominous political developments referred to above were the reported anti-war riots in the southern Slavic provinces of Austria—Croatia and Slavonia—the pro-war riots in Italy, and the loan of $25,000,000 advanced by England to Rumania. The propaganda of the Slavs of Servia brought about the assassination of the Archduke Francis Ferdinand, which was the immediate occasion of the war, and now the Slavs of Austria are growing increasingly restless as Austria calls upon them for more and more aid against their kinsmen under Russian and Servian banners, and it would not be surprising if any day they rose *en masse* in response to the call of the blood bond. Italy, convalescent after the earthquake, appears to be regaining her belligerent feelings, thanks greatly to such agitations of the Republicans as the war riots in Rome the other day, which were suppressed only by troops with fixed bayonets. There is little doubt that the Allies are quietly preparing Rumania against the psychological moment. England's loan and the presence of Rumanian agents in the United States who are eagerly purchasing shrapnel are by no means the only signs that point to this conclusion. All in all, there is little in the political situation in southern Europe to cheer the Kaiser.

CAN GERMANY BE STARVED OUT?

The recent confiscation by the German Government of all private stocks of corn, wheat, and flour in the Empire is perhaps the most significant action taken by any of the Governments at war since Great Britain, at Lord Kitchener's behest, began to make ready for a war to the finish. There seems to be a widespread tendency both in America and in the countries of the Allies to misinterpret the significance of this action, however.

What Germany did was to confiscate all supplies of corn, wheat, and flour at a price fixed by the Government, to forbid all business in these commodities, to enjoin all municipalities to set aside suitable supplies of preserved meats, and to ordain the establishment of a Government distributing office for the regulation of consumption, distribution being made according to the number of inhabitants. Previous to this action all Germany had done to conserve her food supply was to establish maximum prices for some foodstuffs and to impose some minor restrictions on consumption, such as the regulations that bakers must not bake after 2 P.M., that they must use at least ten per cent of rye flour in all wheat bread, and that not more than seventy-five per cent of wheat was to be used by mills in making flour.

On the heels of such mild legislation the recent sweeping order of confiscation came as something of a shock even to the German public. This feeling of quiet consternation was reflected in the comment of the German press, of which the following excerpt from the "Imperial Gazette" is a good example:

"There is no doubt that the measure ordered taken cuts much deeper into the economic life of our people than all the other economic regulations hitherto adopted by the Federal Council during the war."

This paper, however, having expressed its surprise at the action of the Government, goes on to philosophize, and to adjure its German readers to make the best of the situation:

"The measure is, however, necessary in order to make certain the sufficient and regular supply of our people with breadstuffs until the next threshing of the new harvest, and is, besides, a necessity of life for the Government and the nation.

"The steps heretofore taken have proved themselves not far-reaching enough to bring about the sparing use of our limited supplies of breadstuffs, which, however, are in reality sufficient for our needs. In particular the measures hitherto introduced have not prevented the feeding of bread grain to cattle.

"The present order gives us the certainty

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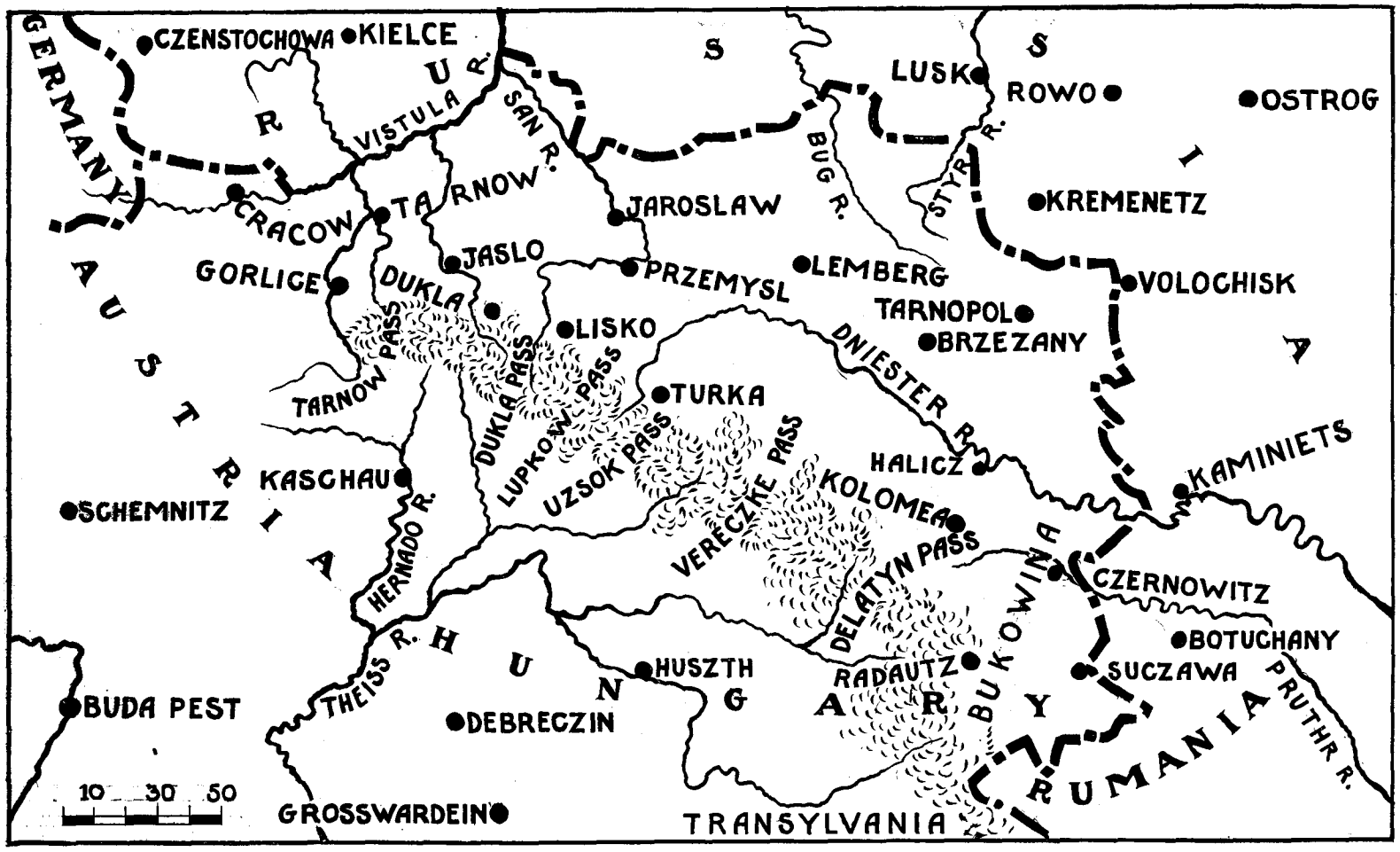

THE CAMPAIGN IN THE CARPATHIANS

The hottest fighting in the Carpathians has centered around the Uzsok and Vereczke Passes, from Galicia into Hungary. The Kaiser has been pouring men into this region to aid his Hapsburg ally, and while the Austrian claim of the recapture of the Uzsok Pass is not admitted by Petrograd as we go to press, it seems certain that the Russian sweep through Bukowina and Transylvania has been halted.

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that our enemies' plan to starve Germany will be upset, and assures us of plentiful bread until the next harvest."

With the German public itself taken back at the abruptness of this action, it is not astonishing that many persons in the countries at war with Germany and in neutral lands should make the mistake of over-emphasizing the importance of Germany's course, and assume that the confiscation of food means that the Fatherland is on the verge of succumbing to the "campaign of starvation" waged against her. Nothing could be farther from the truth. Germany is yet far from the point where she must use for transportation her brood-mares and for sustenance her seed-corn—a condition of poverty reached by northern Mexico some time ago, and reached many times by European nations in past wars months and years before danger of starvation brought them to terms.

In fact, it is time that the world realized that, barring unexpected crop failures and other natural causes as likely to occur in time of peace as in time of war, it is next to impossible to starve a determined people into submission. Of course, if the Kaiser's soldiers were to insist that they would fight only on a diet of wheat rolls, pigs' knuckles, cakes, and beer, the outlook for peace in the near future would be most roseate; but if they will stand half the hardships which the people of Paris have endured again and again in the many sieges of the French metropolis, and which were endured by the soldiers of Robert E. Lee in the Civil War and by the acorn-eating men of Andrew Jackson in the Seminole Wars, it will be next to impossible to bring Germany to her knees by cutting off her food imports.

No, the measure taken by the Federal Council of the German Empire is not the act of a nation desperate, clutching at a straw, but is a piece of the consummate foresight all along characteristic of a people whose ruling gods are the gods of preparedness and efficiency. Germany is merely "keeping her powder dry."

GERMANY'S FOOD SUPPLY

It is not an exaggeration to say that Germany is assured of "plentiful bread until the next harvest." It is true that Germany ordinarily imports large quantities of wheat, but we must remember that wheat bread is not the national bread of Germany. With his supper of cold cuts the German finds rye bread more appetizing than bread of wheat; and of rye the Fatherland normally exports more than it imports. For some months Germans have even been substituting rye rolls for wheat on the breakfast table. Then, to make up, with rye, for the shortage of wheat which British control of the sea forces upon Germany, there is the potato. Germany raises more potatoes than any other country in the world, and potato flour is very nourishing and is not at all unpalatable. The "war bread" which is now the staff of life in the Kaiser's realm is made of a mixture of rye flour and potato flour.

While it is true that Germany's last grain crop was only an average one, and that in Hungary there was a shortage of flour-making grains, Germany's potato crop was a bumper one, having a volume of 80,000,000 tons. This means over a ton of potatoes per capita for Germany's population, if all the potatoes are used for eating purposes. Heretofore many of them have been used in the manufacture of alcohol, but this use of them will undoubtedly be curtailed unless it is found necessary to employ alcohol as a fuel for Germany's many internal combustion engines in the place of gasoline.

As far as agricultural labor is concerned, there is not likely to be a shortage of that, for more than a third of the population of Germany in time of peace lives by tilling the soil, and the women and boys are capable of taking the places of the men at the plow and harrow whenever occasion demands. Intensive agriculture has been carried on to the *n*th degree in Germany, and land poverty is more apt to bother the Kaiser than a poverty of labor. Germany has been cultivating about twice as much sugar as she has needed for her own uses, however, and it is likely that in the spring much of this sugar-beet land will be sown with grain.

Of flesh foods Germany has plenty, especially beef, which she has been exporting in large quantities during recent years. If her pasturage holds out—and it probably will unless the Allies break into her territory and ravage her fields—Germany is not likely to lack meat for a long time.

To sum up, unless Germany is visited by such unexpected natural crop calamities as drouth, insect blights, etc., and unless the Allies succeed in breaking through her lines of steel and laying waste her fields as Sherman laid waste the fields of Georgia on his famous march to the sea, it is difficult to see

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how she can ever be brought to terms by lack of food.

An interesting point of international law which involves the United States is brought out by Germany's confiscation of private stores of grain. According to the Hague Convention food intended for the use of an army is contraband, whereas food destined to be eaten by non-combatants—even when citizens of a nation at war—is not so. In reply to a note of the American State Department recently the British Government admitted the right of our ships to take grain into German ports, so long as it was directed to private individuals. This admission on the part of the British Government did not pass unchallenged in England. For instance, in an editorial the London "Morning Post" said:

"America is asking us to abrogate the power we gained upon the sea, at vast expense, so that American trade may nourish and support an enemy who is destroying the subjects and the wealth of our Allies, and our own wealth wherever he can do so."

Now that Germany admittedly seizes all foodstuffs consigned to private merchants within her borders, it is doubtful if Great Britain will continue to look upon such shipments in American bottoms as non-contraband.

The attempt of an alleged German army officer to blow up the bridge over the St. Croix River at Vanceboro, Maine, where the river forms the international boundary between Canada and the United States, would have had small military significance even if successful. The questions arising over the arrest of the confessed culprit on American soil, however, may lead to the adoption of a new chapter of international law relating to extradition, if they do not involve American courts in a long-drawn-out legal contest.

According to the newspapers, Van Horn went to Vanceboro from New York City, got some dynamite from a man on the Canadian side of the river, and, after detonating the explosive in the steel structure at the Canadian end of the bridge, with only slight damage to the bridge, fled back to United States soil. When arrested in his room at a Vanceboro hotel, Van Horn, it is said, admitted that he had dynamited the bridge, but said that he was an officer in the German army, and claimed that he had committed an act of war. In that case he would be accountable to the United States, as his act originated in United States territory. The Canadian authorities, on the other hand, immediately asked for the extradition of the German on the ground that he had committed an ordinary felony and should be punished as a common criminal.

As I said before, Van Horn's attempt would have had slight military significance even if successful. The German evidently planned to prevent the transportation of volunteer soldiers and military supplies from the Canadian northwest to the eastern seacoast via Vanceboro, but he overlooked the fact that by making a detour of only about forty-five miles these men and munitions could be sent on their way to France over another line of the Canadian Pacific Railway to the north of the St. Croix.

February 3, 1915.

II—TRENCH FIGHTING

BY GEORGE KENNAN

ONE of the first lessons learned by both Russians and Japanese in the Manchurian campaign was the great importance in modern warfare of the pickax and the spade. Soon after the desperate but unsuccessful assaults on Port Arthur in August, 1904, a Japanese soldier happened to notice in one of the abandoned Russian trenches a pickax which had been used so long and so continuously that the curved iron head had been worn down almost to the handle on both sides. Regarding it as a curiosity, the soldier picked it up and took it to the staff headquarters, where it attracted the attention of General Nogi. A few days later the Japanese Commander-in-Chief assembled a group of his officers, showed them the worn pickax, and said to them:

"Gentlemen, it is with this that the enemy has beaten us, and with this we must learn to beat him."

In the course of the next three months the Japanese worked almost incessantly with pickax and spade; dug in front of Port Arthur about thirty miles of trenches and parallels; and excavated and carried to the rear in baskets nearly five million cubic feet of earth and stones. By means of this work

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they approached the Russian lines so closely that they were able at last to attack the forts with saps, blow up their parapets with mines, and then take them by assault without great loss of life.

The example of the Japanese was soon followed by their enemies. North of Mukden, where General Kuropatkin made his final stand, the Russian armies dug a line of trenches which was almost continuous for a distance of fifty or sixty miles. When completed, this position had such defensive strength that General Oyama, with 700,000 men, declined to attack it unless the Japanese War Department would furnish him with ten more divisions. In reviewing, after the war, this gigantic work of intrenchment General Kuropatkin said:

"The spade, which had been forgotten since the Turkish war, once more regained its position. With the volume and murderous effectiveness of modern fire, neither attack nor defense can be conducted without enormous losses unless proper and intelligent use is made of digging." [1]

The present European war has taught, or is teaching, the same lesson that Nogi, Oyama, and Kuropatkin learned in Manchuria. The British soldiers in France were very reluctant at first, Colonel Swinton says, to intrench; but disastrous experience soon taught them, as it had taught the Russians and the Japanese, that the pickax and the spade in modern warfare are quite as important as the rifle and the machine gun. In Poland and Austria the combatants are still maneuvering, to some extent, in the open; but in Belgium and France the armies on both sides have "dug themselves in," and are living and fighting in nearly parallel lines of trenches.

As I had an opportunity in Manchuria to see something of trench fighting, it may be worth while, perhaps, to describe briefly some of the methods and appliances which the Russians and the Japanese found most effective in this kind of warfare, and to compare them with those that have recently been adopted in Europe.

Most of the Japanese trenches at Port Arthur were intended to facilitate approach, and were therefore laid out in zigzags running back and forth at angles of from forty to fifty degrees. At irregular intervals they were crossed by parallels, which connected the zigzag lines, and also served as places of shelter in which troops could be massed for an assault. The trenches and parallels, as a rule, were four to five feet in width and five to five and a half feet in depth, and the walls were heightened in some places with sand-bags, laid in such a way as to leave narrow crevices between them for observation and "sniping." As the terrain had recently been a field of growing corn, both sand-bags and trench margins were masked with cornstalks, so that at a distance they could not be distinguished from the rest of the surface. When, on one occasion, I looked back at the Japanese position from the center of the Russian line, I could not locate a single trench that was more than three hundred yards away. As a result of this skillful concealment, the Russian gunners were compelled to fire more or less at random, and if they succeeded in throwing a shell into a trench at a distance of a mile, it was wholly by accident. Even with shrapnel they could not prevent the Japanese from moving large bodies of men to the front and massing them in advanced parallels. This comparative safety of movement in the trenches enabled the Japanese not only to send hot food to the fighting line, but to relieve exhausted men from time to time and bring them back to the rear to sleep. They had a few underground, splinter-proof sleeping chambers at the extreme front, and I visited one that was occupied by forty or fifty men; but, as a rule, the fighting force was divided into day and night shifts, and the off-duty troops returned to sheltered camps for rest.

In Belgium and France, where night attacks in force are to be expected at any moment, a large number of men must sleep in underground chambers opening into the front trenches, so that they may be quickly available in time of need. On the long line of operations in France there are hundreds of these subterranean shelters, which are called by some of the soldiers "dugouts" or "funk-holes," and are humorously styled by others "Hotel Cecil," the "Ritz Hotel," the "Billet-Doux Hotel," and the "Rue Dormir." Many of these excavated rooms are fairly spacious, and some of them, particularly on the German side, almost deserve the name of "furnished apartments." All of the Japanese chambers that I visited at Port Arthur were low and dark, and one had to crawl into them on hands and knees, over the bodies of sleeping men.

In the Japanese trenches there was a net-

[1] "The Russian Army and the Japanese War," Vol. II, p. 142.

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work of telephone wires, which kept the trench fighters constantly in touch with supporting batteries, as well as with the staff headquarters, and in many places along the front parallels there were periscopes, hyposcopes, and condensing mirrors mounted on long bamboo poles, which enabled the commanding officers to watch the movements of the enemy without exposing their heads to the fire of sharpshooters.

In trench fighting generally, the Japanese made more extensive use of what may be called defensive armor than has been made, apparently, by the combatants in France. They had, for example, steel shields of various types which they used in both defense and attack. One of them, which looked like a thin black gravestone with shoulders and head, was carried in front of the body by means of a leather harness. It was thick enough to stop a rifle bullet, and in the head part it was pierced with a narrow horizontal slit through which the wearer could look and aim. Its weight—twelve or fifteen pounds—might have made it cumbersome for marching and fighting in the open, but it was useful in firing from trenches. Another type of shield which was used in attack consisted of a slab of steel, about three feet square, which was provided with a prop, and which was pushed ahead, in a sloping position, by a man crawling up to a wire entanglement or to an enemy's trench. Sometimes, when the distance to be covered was short, fifteen or twenty men would crawl forward together, behind these shields, to remove obstacles or hurl hand grenades into the Russian lines. It is a question whether the Japanese body-and-head shield might not be used to advantage by the trench fighters in Belgium and France. The volume of rifle fire there is probably greater than it was over the Japanese trenches at Port Arthur; but defensive armor for head and hands, so made that small-caliber bullets would glance from it, might save a good many men. Attention has been attracted in Russia to the great and apparently disproportionate number of trench fighters wounded by rifle bullets in the left hand or arm. The explanation given is that the soldier, in pushing his rifle over the edge of the trench, exposes first the left hand and arm, with which he supports the barrel. If he were protected by a Japanese body shield, he might, of course, be hit, but he would be much safer than he is in firing over the edge of the trench without any protection at all.

To the Russians must be given the credit for the reintroduction in modern warfare of the grenade and the hand-thrown bomb. So far as I can remember, they were not generally used in our Civil War nor in the Russo-Turkish War of 1877–8. The Japanese apparently had never even thought of them, and were completely taken by surprise when the Russians began to use them at Port Arthur. They were quick to recognize the fact, however, that in trench fighting and in all cases where masses of men are brought into close contact or confined within narrow limits the grenade is the most deadly and destructive of missiles. They had at the beginning of the siege neither grenades nor material with which to make them; but Colonel Imazawa, who was General Nogi's expert in mines and explosives, conceived the idea of utilizing as a temporary substitute for iron the tin of empty provision cans, large quantities of which had been left by the Russians on the sites of their deserted camps north of the fortress. Details of soldiers were sent to collect the cans and bring them to Port Arthur, and in the little Manchurian village of Chokiatun, near General Nogi's headquarters, Colonel Imazawa's artisans unsoldered the cans and made out of the sheets cylindrical cases ten inches long and two in diameter, which, when filled with Shimose powder and provided with various exploding devices, made serviceable and effective grenades. At the suggestion of a member of the Japanese Diet who was watching the siege, I visited with him Colonel Imazawa's workshop and saw there, not only the tin grenades in process of manufacture, but wooden mortars bound with hoops of green bamboo which were used in throwing them into the Russian trenches and forts. A charge of two ounces of common powder, Colonel Imazawa told me, would throw one of these cans a distance of three hundred yards or more, and, as the high explosive contained therein was even more powerful than lyddite, the missile was very destructive, even though its walls were made of nothing heavier than tin.

In the course of the fighting a few days later I saw an intrenchment captured, lost, and recaptured no fewer than four times. It was occupied first by the Russians, was then taken by the Japanese, was recovered by the Russians, and was finally carried by storm and held permanently by the Japanese. When I visited the scene of the action, a short time

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afterward, I was told by the Japanese officer in command that the men on both sides fought almost wholly with hand grenades, and that his company was driven out, in the second engagement, only because its supply of grenades ran short.

General Kuropatkin predicted seven years ago that grenades and hand-thrown bombs would be extensively used in future wars, and his prediction has already been fulfilled. References to these missiles are scattered all through recent accounts of the fighting in Belgium and France, and Colonel Swinton, the Intelligence Officer of the British General Staff, reported in October last that a German ammunition train consisting of fourteen motor lorries had been completely destroyed by a single hand grenade.

In a later report, dated November 29, the same officer said:

"So far as the use of explosives is concerned, the greatest activity is found in local attacks with hand grenades and short-range howitzers. . . . The smaller bombs and grenades, thrown by hand, although local in action, are very unpleasant, particularly in the inclosed space of a trench. The grenades are thrown continuously by both sides, and every trench assault is first preceded and then accompanied by showers of these murderous missiles. This kind of fighting is very deadly."

Another innovation, first introduced by the Japanese at Port Arthur, is the improved modern method of dealing with wire entanglements. In my second article on "Modern Warfare" (Outlook, October 7, 1914) I described the unsuccessful experiments of the Japanese with wire-cutters, mattresses, and sure-death parties. They finally devised the scheme of fastening ropes to the posts of the wire fence at night, and then hauling it into the front parallel. The Allies in France have recently adopted this method, but with a substantial improvement. Instead of having men crawl forward in the darkness to fasten ropes to the posts, they attach grapnels to the ropes and, by means of short-range mortars, throw them over the entanglement. Then they haul it into the trench, just as the Japanese did.

The Russians at Port Arthur tried the experiment of sending through one of the wires of the entanglement a high-tension electric current from a dynamo, but, for some reason, it did not succeed. Perhaps the power was insufficient or the insulation defective. Japanese officers with whom I talked told me that they had used the electrically charged wire fence with some success in their war with the wild Formosan aborigines, but that none of their soldiers at Port Arthur had been electrically killed, so far as they knew. High voltage currents are said to have been used in this way by both sides in France, but without noteworthy success. Electricity does not protect a wire fence from attack with ropes and grapnels, and as an agent of destruction it must necessarily be less effective than shrapnel, rifle bullets, and machine guns.

The sapping and mining operations of the combatants in Europe do not differ essentially from those of the Russians and Japanese in Manchuria, except that more subterranean work is done from the front trenches. Each side now attacks the other below the surface of the ground, as well as above it, and in a recent case reported by Colonel Swinton the French drove a tunnel 164 feet long in order to undermine and blow up a German machine gun which could not otherwise be reached. As the opposed trenches in many places are less than 164 feet apart, soldiers who go to sleep at night in the "Hotel Cecil" or the "Billet-Doux Hotel" can never feel sure that they will not be blown into the air before morning by a German tunnel mine.

The strain upon the nerves in modern trench fighting is probably more severe than it ever has been before in the history of warfare. The modern trench fighter is exposed to attack from the front, from above, and from beneath. "Black Marias" from the big German howitzers tear walls and traverses to pieces, and stun or deafen all whom they do not kill; aeroplanes and Zeppelins drop high explosive bombs from the skies; showers of "murderous" hand grenades are hurled into the trenches by storming parties in night attacks; and a volcanic outburst at the end of a tunnel is liable at any moment to disrupt the ground on which the trench fighter stands or sleeps. In the words of General Kuropatkin, "Only a strong military character has nerves tough enough to endure for days the strain of almost continuous battle under such conditions."

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THE PRESIDENT AND IMMIGRATION

A POLL OF THE PRESS

IN his veto of the Immigration Bill, President Wilson, as we point out on another page, directs his objection against two provisions—the limitation on political refugees and the literacy test.

I

As to the first of these points (limiting the rights of political refugees as to asylum and subjecting such refugees to secret trial) there are, affirms the Waterbury "American" (Rep.), two questions—"whether the Nation should still preserve an idealism which was attended with far less menace in the old days than now, or whether, considering the mixed character of her population, it would not be wiser for her to be a little more selfish and not admit so freely types of immigrants who as American citizens may accentuate discord in the Government."

An example of newspapers cherishing the latter view is the New Orleans "Item" (Ind.). It says:

The average European would resent to-day the idea that he needs an "asylum" in this country or anywhere else. . . . Norway and Sweden, Portugal, Spain, Italy, Germany, Austria, the Balkans, all have gone through the periods of purification. Russia is undergoing hers. The results are not complete everywhere, but the ferment is at work. This great city-congested republic does not occupy by any means the same political relation to the rest of the world as that little ocean-washed strip of scattered population which was once the political light of the earth.

Laws are made for conditions that are and will be; not for conditions that were. The question before us to-day is whether we will frame an immigration law for a happy ideal born of conditions that are *passed* or will frame one to meet our own needs as a nation among other nations, as the nations stand *to-day*—whether we will legislate for our own benefit or for the eternal honor and glory of a beautiful and irrelevant abstraction. . . .

This Immigration Bill should be considered on its merits without reference to the President's fine sentimental prejudices. If Congress votes its own conviction, Mr. Wilson's veto will be over-ridden.

But much the greater proportion of newspaper comment is on the side of idealism, and points out its justice with special regard to an asylum here for the oppressed who flee from Russia. In this connection the Buffalo "News" (Rep.) asserts:

One of the ablest and strongest of arguments against it [the bill] was presented by the Society for Russian Freedom, and it is noted that in the veto Message the President follows rather closely the argument of the petition that went to him from that society.

To this the Philadelphia "Telegraph" (Rep.) adds:

That provision of the bill which prohibited from landing here persons who had engaged in violent revolutions against their former governments would have abolished utterly the character of this country as a refuge for lovers of freedom. It gave the President another excellent reason for killing the measure.

"There can be no argument at all in favor of excluding immigrants merely because they have shown a spirit of resistance and revolt against the oppression of the governments at home," declares the New York "Times" (Ind. Dem.), and the New York "Evening Post" thus sums up the matter:

Take the question of political asylum alone, which Mr. Wilson put at the forefront of his Message. Almost no attention has been attracted to it; yet under the guise of keeping out Anarchists it would make it impossible for a Schurz or a Sigel to come to this country, as well as any Russian patriot who took part in the recent revolution. In 1851 the United States was so thrilled by Kossuth's labors for liberty that it took pride in sending a frigate to bring him to this country. The price upon his head is deemed a crown. So, too, the United States delighted to honor Garibaldi. If this bill becomes a law, the Garibaldis and Mazzinis and Kossuths of the future will be turned back at our doors by an immigration official. On this ground alone, so eloquently stated by Mr. Wilson, the bill should be put to rest for all time.

II

The other provision of the bill to which the President objects is that which requires of practically every adult before he is admitted that he should prove his ability to read in some language.

This exclusion, comments the New York "American Hebrew," "would bar from the hopes of sharing in the fate of America some forty per cent of the present type of immi-

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grant, and at least twenty-five per cent of the prospective Jewish immigrants."

"Organized labor, we understand, is for it [exclusion]," says the Milwaukee "Sentinel" (Rep.), "and wants the tariff protection of American labor against the 'cheap foreign labor' employed abroad supplemented by immigration law protection against the competition of 'cheap foreign labor' employed in the United States." Says the Syracuse "Post-Standard" (Rep.):

The supporters of the bill are determined that it shall be adopted at this session, and . . . they believe they can muster the votes to repass it. . . . That the measure has the approval of the American Federation of Labor undoubtedly persuades others to look kindly upon it.

Among defenders of the literacy test there is, for instance, the Leavenworth "Times" (Rep.), which declares:

The President should not stand in the way of its enactment into law, now that it has received so strong an indorsement. . . .

Three times now this measure has been passed by both houses of Congress and by big majorities, and yet the President is not satisfied that it is the desire of the people. How in the world can he be convinced?

An attempt will be made to pass the bill over the President's veto, but that requires a two-third vote of both houses, and it may not be possible to get it. . . . It strikes us that there is something undemocratic in giving a President so great power. . . . It would appear that a bare majority ought to be enough to pass a measure over his veto.

As to Mr. Wilson in particular, the Missoula (Montana) "Missoulian" (Prog.) remarks:

President Wilson, in his "History of the American People," written some years before he entered politics, in discussing the changing type of immigrants that of recent years have been flocking to our shores, drew a very vivid contrast between the former immigration from central and northern Europe and the mass of recent immigration from the shores of the Mediterranean and the Balkan countries. The latter he referred to in his book as "those of the meaner type."

In the campaign of 1912 Mr. Wilson was severely attacked by some of the "foreign newspapers" printed in New York, Chicago, and other cities of the East, where this element of our foreign-born population largely reside, for his criticism of the southern European immigrant. The Taft campaign managers made an open appeal for votes from this class of citizenship, on account of his veto of the immigration bill. The election returns from these special city districts showed that the appeal was not in vain. It may be that the experience of the Presidential campaign may have had some effect in changing Mr. Wilson's view-point regarding immigration. . . .

There are some thinking people who believe that we had better first assimilate the large percentage of immigrants already in our midst, before admitting a great many more of the type that has constituted the bulk of our recent immigration. The time to put up the bars against undesirable immigration is now.

Most newspapers, however, declare that the literacy test must go. Says the Sacramento "Bee" (Ind.): "Take the citizenship of California for an instance;" it continues:

There are no better citizens anywhere than the children of the Italian and Portuguese immigrants and those from southern Europe generally. They are intelligent, well read as a rule, sober, industrious, and patriotic. They are taught honesty, courtesy, fair dealing, and a love for the flag, and they transmit these traits to their children. We want more of these sturdy forebears to good citizens, not less.

To this the Los Angeles "California Outlook" (Ind.) adds:

There is no pretense that the literacy test is advocated by anybody on its own merits. It is a frankly acknowledged subterfuge to do indirectly what we lack the courage to do directly. President Wilson, like Presidents Taft and Roosevelt, is opposed to the test. Probably almost any one of the more important Senators, if elected President, would likewise be opposed to it. But, somehow, Senators and Members of Congress are afraid to vote against it.

"Undesirable immigrants cannot be barred from the country in this fashion," asserts the Philadelphia "Ledger" (Rep.), and adds:

The question is one of character, not of education. The educated scoundrel is the visitor we have most to fear, and the police records of his native land is the test to apply to him. The honest and willing worker, whatever his defects in the matter of book learning may be, is valuable material for American citizenship.

Hence the veto. It has been acclaimed by a chorus of congratulation all over the country, and irrespective of party. For example, the Cedar Rapids "Gazette" (Ind.):

President Wilson is not the first Chief Executive to veto an immigration bill in which was incorporated a provision for a restrictive literacy test. Presidents Cleveland and Taft did the same thing before him. . . . President Wilson is right. The people of this country have no desire to alter its democratic precepts.

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They would not sanction a restrictive literacy test. His veto is what they would have asked.

The Indianapolis "Star" (Prog.) says:

President Wilson puts his finger straight upon the weak and un-American feature of the Immigration Bill when he points out that the measure proposes to turn away from testimony of character and of quality and to impose tests which exclude and restrict.

The Harrisburg "Patriot" (Dem.) says:

President Wilson's veto of the Immigration Bill came as it was expected it would, and with the kind of a Message which it might have been expected he would employ for such an occasion. The logic of his argument is so sound and the point he makes so strong that there is no getting away from them.

The Rochester "Post-Express" (Rep.) may be quoted:

The President will receive full credit for his veto of the Immigration Bill. His Message to Congress is admirable in text and spirit. He is justified in doubting that the American people desire the radical departure from the long-established policy of this country which the measure embodies.

The Washingtom "Times" (Ind.) declares:

While he is in the White House President Wilson will not perform any act in which he will be more entitled to take a manly pride than in his veto of the immigration measure with its literacy test.

Finally, another Washington paper, the "Herald" (Ind.), puts this pertinent parallel:

In justification of his course the President refers to the literacy test as a "radical change in the policy of the Nation." . . . In making a strong point against the legislation he condemns, it will occur to many that the President made an equally impressive argument against the Ship Purchase Bill, which he so heartily commends and insistently advocates. It cannot be denied that the purchase and operation by the Government of a merchant marine would indeed be a "radical change in the policy of the Nation," and certainly the people have been given no opportunity to consider it. The Democratic party, in fact, was placed in control upon a platform declaring emphatically against the granting of subsidies to shipping. And now it proposes to enact a measure to provide for the purchase and operation of merchant ships by the Government at a financial loss, as has been admitted. If a political party should ask the approval of the people before it imposes a literacy test upon immigrants, can it justify itself in embarking upon a losing venture in Government ownership and operation of merchant ships before the people have authorized such expenditure of their money?

The "Herald's" parallel will doubtless occur to many who had not before so joined in their minds the Immigration Bill and the Shipping Bill.

A GERMAN INDIVIDUALIST

THE excellent letter of "L. F. A.," whose authoritative identity—*stat nominis umbra*—is apparent, in The Outlook of January 6, commends itself to every truth-seeker.

As proof that German-speaking and German-writing people are not all thinking one way, I offer a few extracts from the last publication of Peter Rosegger. Rosegger, although an Austrian, enjoys a well-merited popularity among readers of high-class fiction from the Baltic to the Adriatic. He has passed the psalmist's life-limit, and in one of the stories, "Das Recht der Persönlichkeit," in his recent delightful "Lasset uns von Liebe reden," is the mature utterance subjoined. It is obvious that Rosegger does not agree with Münsterberg, or Ostwald, or the other exponents of their ideas quoted by "L. F. A."

Rosegger observes, as I venture to translate, "It is constantly taught that the hope of humanity is in the absorption of the individual in the mass. It seems to me that such hope lies in the preservation of personality. The nation, as a nation, is of no worth; such value as it has is because of the many personalities it embraces, and whose projects are to be protected by it."

"The destruction of individualism is the annihilation of self, but by no means of selfishness."

"As to the doctrine of 'the individual for the state, and not the state for the individual,' it may, in times of great peril, happen that for a brief period it shall prevail, so that of a thousand individuals a strong body is created, as in war, or under tyrannic oppression. When this danger is past, the mass, of necessity, disintegrates."

ROBERT D. COXE.

Glenolden, Pennsylvania.

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COMMISSIONER WOODS AND THE NEW POLICE POWER

BY CAMPBELL MacCULLOCH

A FEW years ago you could have stopped any normal New Yorker upon the streets of his city—or any Chicagoan, or Philadelphian, or St. Louisan, for that matter—and your request for a definition of the word *police* would have brought forth something substantially like this:

POLICE (*noun*)—a blackhander to whom the use of bombs is forbidden, but otherwise fully authorized by the State. (*v. t.*)—to beat, club, shoot, bulldoze, threaten, or graft. (F. < L. *politia*, state; < Gr. *politeia*, city.)

Roughly speaking, police power has meant the arrest of citizens for violation of the statutes and the occasionally successful prevention of such violation, always in the past with a strong retarding effect due to political pressure.

To-day the police power in New York is a far bigger and broader idea, with a comprehensive educational plan that makes for better citizenship as an added feature. In a single sentence, the blue and brass uniform is no longer solely a symbol of authority, but carries with it a degree of human service. The idea is that the criminal should be healed of his potential criminality before he becomes a criminal at all—in which case of course he wouldn't be a criminal. The police power thus is rather prophylactic than therapeutic, though the last-named phase is by no means absent.

It has remained for Arthur Woods, the Police Commissioner of New York, to pick up all the multicolored police threads and weave them into the fabric just outlined. The weaving is not complete by any means, but it is progressing, and the warp and woof of police service are taking on the ultimate form. Woods sits in a big room at the north end of the great gray stone building on Centre Street, and deals out the high justice, the middle, and the low, to his uniformed and non-uniformed colaborers. He is a product of the erudite institution on the Charles, and he believes, broadly speaking, that an arrested citizen is a bad citizen; not that all bad citizens are arrested, or that all arrested citizens are bad, but that a man under arrest has undergone a change; he has been placed in the position of one accused, rightly or wrongly, of a wrongful proceeding or act, and this necessarily hurts his self-respect, and naturally awakens his resentment. In the first instance his efficiency as a citizen has been damaged, and in the second the spirit of revenge, the most primitive of human emotions, has been awakened in him.

Obviously the thing to do is not to arrest the citizen, and thus save him from deterioration; but Mr. Woods scouts that as sheer sentimental altruism, though there are individuals who will assert that it is logical and right. The Woods plan is to educate people to the point where they won't want to break the law. And to an appreciable extent that is the plan he is pursuing. The Police Department of any city, town, or village should be largely educative. If it does not aim at that, it is not a properly functioning institution at all.

Most people believe that such a plan as the foregoing would, as late as three years ago, have been an impossibility in New York. The proposal to so handle eleven thousand uniformed men that they would be capable of performing any educative function in a community of five and a half million would have been hooted at as an Arcadian dream. Public opinion would not have considered the situation as possible, and, moreover, it would never have for one instant admitted that such a thing as an intelligent policeman existed anywhere. It firmly believed "there wasn't no sich animal."

If you should ask me what single factor more than any other has operated to rouse the New York Police Department—and other departments too, there can be no doubt—to the point where it wanted to get free of the old standards, it would be necessary to indicate the Rosenthal murder and the succeeding trial of Lieutenant Charles Becker for complicity therein. This, followed by the trial and conviction of four police inspectors, undoubtedly had a powerfully awakening influence upon the Department as a whole, and shook it, to the advantage of the individual member. To-day the men are anxious to purge themselves and their work from the taint of the System.

A common, ordinary, every-day patrolman, of the type known in colloquial police par-

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lance as "a harness bull"—otherwise a uniformed policeman—was privily asked what was the new force stirring in the Department.

"Policemen are just folks," he answered. "They've got feelin's an' families. They want to live clean an' look their kids in th' face when they get home. We've had crooks in the Department in years past, and there was a rotten System, but the men are finding out that you can't ever get the kink and smell out of a crooked dollar. When a man finds out that his ten-year-old boy won't go to school because he's ashamed that his father's a policeman, it's apt to get him thinkin'. That happened a lot of times. You get a few thousand men thinkin', an' somethin' else happens," he finished, grimly.

When Woods came to the New York Police Department, he did so with preconceived ideas based upon experience. He had served as a deputy commissioner five years before. He adopted the plan of encouraging his men to go to him with their troubles, and, as a general thing, he is never too busy to see them when they have a legitimate reason. He believes that every single man of the eleven thousand or so under his command is capable of good work. The idea is to get the work out and to inculcate the understanding that a policeman's duty is to raise the tone of his precinct. He is striving to get rid of the notion that a uniformed man is a neighborhood autocrat, and that the progress he makes is calculated upon the number of arrests he performs. The plan is bearing fruit as manifested in the changed spirit of the force.

Two decades ago the New York policeman was a fairly well defined blot on the face of the municipality. He was a high-handed dictator in his individual capacity, and, in the mass, a thoroughly well exploited body of remarkably inefficient public officials mainly unconscious of their public duty. The old-time policeman was grafted on by politicians, ridden by unscrupulous interests, and thoroughly at sea as to what he was to do and how he was to do it. Politics put him on the force, politics kept him there, and politics shoved him off again in many, many instances. The Department rules pulled one way and the political machine the other. The new idea is different. There's a spirit of real worth growing up in the Department; there's a concept of what a policeman's duty is to the city that pays him that is highly gratifying to the man who believes in the men under him. Here is an example.

A few days before the last election Commissioner Woods called fifteen snappy-looking sergeants down to Headquarters and lined them up in the big gymnasium. He had had those men selected with an ulterior purpose. He told them he had made arrangements with the Board of Education to have them visit the public schools and talk to the children between then and election day, and that it was the beginning of a plan he hoped to have them see more of. He told them they were to be assigned to certain school districts, and that they were to visit the schools in uniform. The plan was that the children were to be told something of what true police work meant; that it was a bigger idea than just arresting people; that it meant making the neighborhood happier, safer, cleaner, and better for every one who lived in it. They were told to explain that bonfires on election night, while undoubtedly interesting, were dangerous, cost the city money, and this increased taxes, raised rents, and robbed children of many little pleasures. They were told to enlist the help of the children in their police work.

The men did that work all during the week, and they found that they could do more educational work along the lines of decent citizenship than the average schoolteacher could, principally because they represented law and order to the child mind. The records showed less than a dozen bonfires in the place of some thousands in previous years. And out of it all grew up something that is far bigger and wonderfully better. It set police officials to thinking. Most persons visualize a police captain as a czar. Here's what two police captains have done since then:

Two captains have organized the boys of their precincts into a junior police league. In one precinct there are nearly four hundred boys in the league; in the other not quite so many. The captain is their commanding officer. He divides the precinct up into districts, appoints inspectors, captains, and sergeants. He has rules and discipline. The boys drill, they have their own badges, and they do splendid work in keeping order, reporting violations of ordinances, and watching out for things policemen ought to know. Juvenile delinquency has fallen off in these precincts so far that it is almost a negligible quantity. If the new régime had accomplished nothing more than that, it would have been worth while, as any man with a knowl-

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edge of youth will unhesitatingly admit; and the idea is spreading.

The school talk idea has worked well, and there is in contemplation an extension of it in the form of a series of addresses to adults, delivered in the school buildings after the hours of labor. Roughly speaking, the idea is to explain many features of police procedure that make for a better citizenry. It is recognized that the greater number of law violations are due to ignorance, and the idea is to correct these, explaining why.

Some months since a New York newspaper pointed out the lack of a civic soul in the city. If any one objects to the use of that word in that connection, it may be amended to read civic consciousness. It is a fact that the biggest city of the Western Hemisphere lacks individual cohesiveness, or a communal sense of responsibility, if we want to put it that way. It votes, but generally it doesn't know why. It conducts itself as a sort of permanent exhibition; in a figurative sense, it sits up on the fence and plumes itself in the sun while the rest of the land is supposed to look on agape with admiration. It privately holds to the idea that politics is a bore, and deserts the polls for the nearest form of amusement in vogue at the moment. It is convinced that all politicians are vicious, only some are less so than others; and in the way of a disagreeable duty it blithely chooses the less of two evils, and considers that the highest exercise of citizenship. It may be seen that the Woods idea is destined to supply, in part at least, some of that missing quality of civic consciousness.

No small part of the present situation in the Police Department is to raise the standard of individual estimate. The men are beginning to understand that they can afford to think well of themselves, and they're beginning to do it. They have been told for so long that they were dishonest, unfaithful, and inefficient that the bulk of them had come to believe it—a sense of things that spells danger. They've been encouraged to think of themselves as useful, constructive personages, and they are beginning to prove that they are just that.

The presiding genius of Dotheboys Hall had a most effectual plan of impressing things upon the youths intrusted to his care. Having spelled window, the student was then required to clean it.

No one in New York has ever wanted to talk much about the number of children killed on the city's streets. It was too infernally reminiscent of the sacrifices to Moloch. But the police knew all about it. They often carried the children home—and sometimes they carried their own. You can't mix one million children playing in city streets with a vast rushing city traffic without evil results from the combination. Incidentally no one has yet devised a plan to keep the children of a city off the streets, for that is about the only place they have to play. There are parks, but the family cooking, or washing, or shirt-making, or store-keeping cannot be abandoned four hours a day to take the children to the city parks—a little jaunt of anywhere from five blocks to five miles—and they can't go alone; so they play in the streets and get run down and killed and maimed at the rate of so many hundred a year.

Woods, of the Police Department, observed that, since no one else had solved that problem of children *versus* traffic, the police might tackle it; and the police did. It has proved remarkably successful and absurdly simple. Every so often in the congested districts a street is designated as a play street. At three o'clock in the afternoon policemen appear at the ends of the blocks and place in position neat signs indicating that fact, and the further one that wheeled traffic is now forbidden therein. Until six o'clock that night the rule holds good. Pedestrian, but no wheeled, traffic. The police talked to the merchants, who like the idea; they like it so well that they are now subscribing to a fund to engage play-leaders for the children. The idea has been extended to Brooklyn, and will extend where there is need for it.

No patent exists upon this play-street idea, and the New York Police Department cheerfully presents it to any municipality having a similiar problem. It is said that one excellent Russian personage liked the plan so well that in his gratitude he kissed a Hibernian policeman on the cheek. This is regarded as indicative of a better understanding, for in Russia they do not generally kiss policemen; they eliminate them with dynamite and assorted hardware.

And the police work is extending to other departments. The men are helping with the street-cleaning problem. They have mentioned to the push-cart men, of whom there are thousands, that it will be necessary for each vender to keep the street in the vicinity of his cart clean. The venders do it. One

(Continued on page following illustrations)

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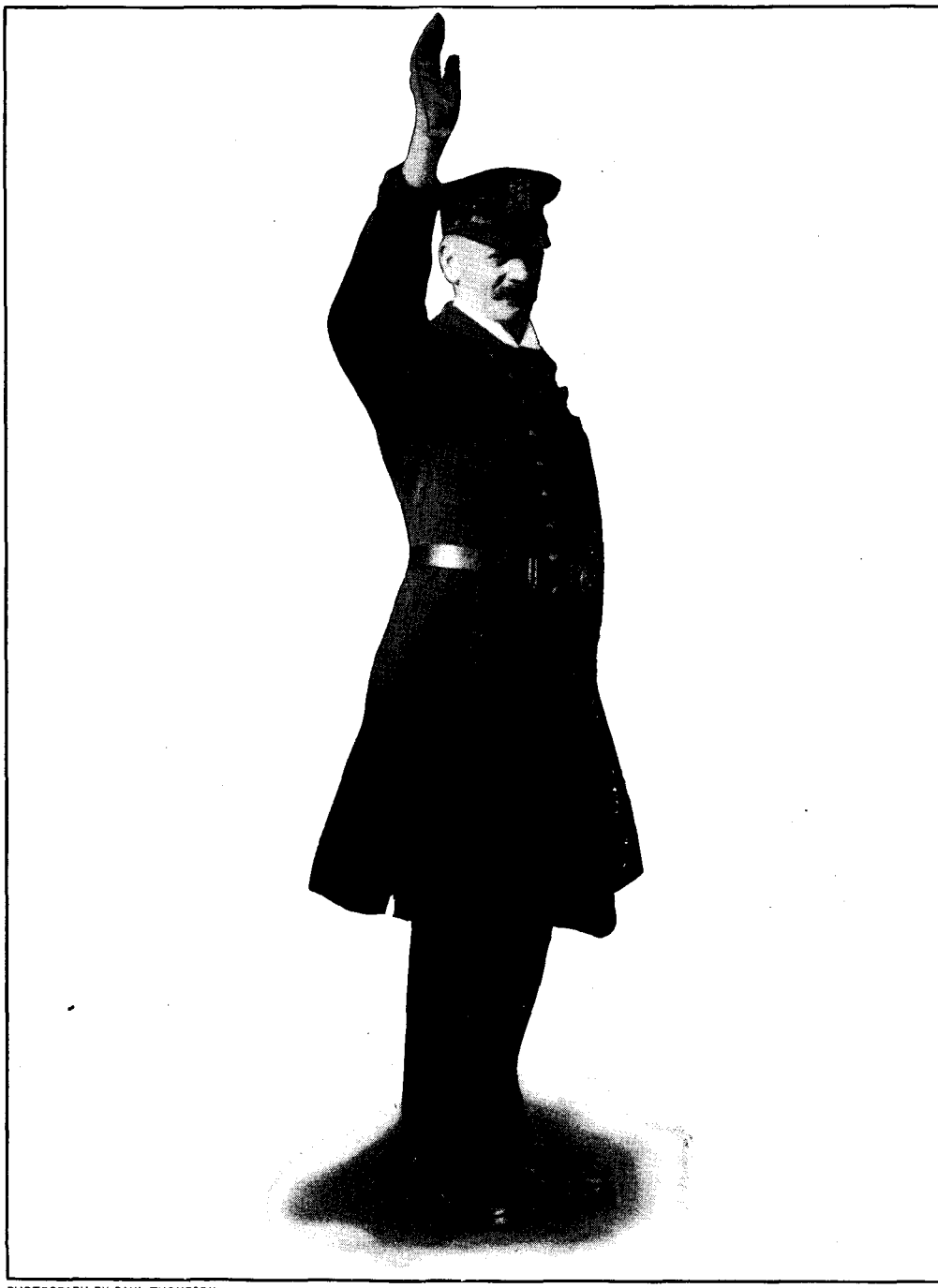
Current Events Pictorially Treated



PHOTOGRAPH BY PAUL THOMPSON

HIS BIGGER JOB

Instead of being charged merely with the duty of restraining violators of the law, the modern policeman is both preventing crime and making city life easier and more civilized. The policeman pictured above is on traffic duty, a part of his new work in this larger field, which has many aspects. See article "Commissioner Woods and the New Police Power," in this issue

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PHOTOGRAPH BY UNDERWOOD & UNDERWOOD

MOTHER JONES AND JOHN D. ROCKEFELLER, JR., SHAKING HANDS

One of the most significant incidents in the sessions of the Federal Industrial Relations Committee in New York City occurred at the end of a hearing, when John D. Rockefeller, Jr., capitalist and son of the Standard Oil magnate, shook hands with Mother Jones, labor agitator and one of the leading spirits of the miners' organizations. See editorial comment

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PHOTOGRAPH BY UNDERWOOD & UNDERWOOD

WELLESLEY COLLEGE'S NEW BUILDING

Last year Wellesley College lost its main building by fire. Nearly $2,000,000 has been raised to replace this building; the picture shows the laying of the corner-stone of the new edifice by Bishop Lawrence. Next to him is Miss Norton, a member of the Faculty, while farther to the right is the President of Wellesley College, Miss Ellen Fitz Pendleton

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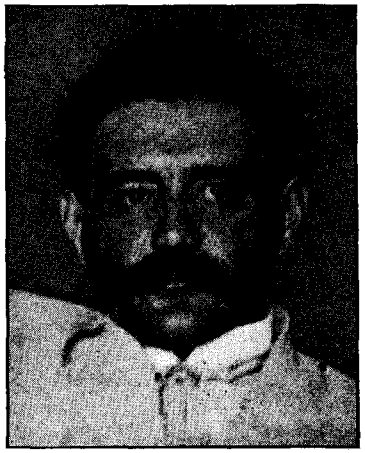

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VILLAREAL

PHOTOGRAPH BY BROWN BROTHERS

CARBAJAL

ROQUE GONZALEZ GARZA

Garza quite recently fled from Mexico City and has since resigned

GUTIERREZ

PHOTOGRAPH BY G. G. BAIN

CARRANZA

MEXICO'S PROCESSION OF PRESIDENTS—WHO WILL BE THE NEXT ONE?

Since the abdication of Diaz, Mexico has had no fewer than nine Presidents or Provisional Presidents. The five of these who have claimed the office since the abdication of Huerta are shown in the above picture

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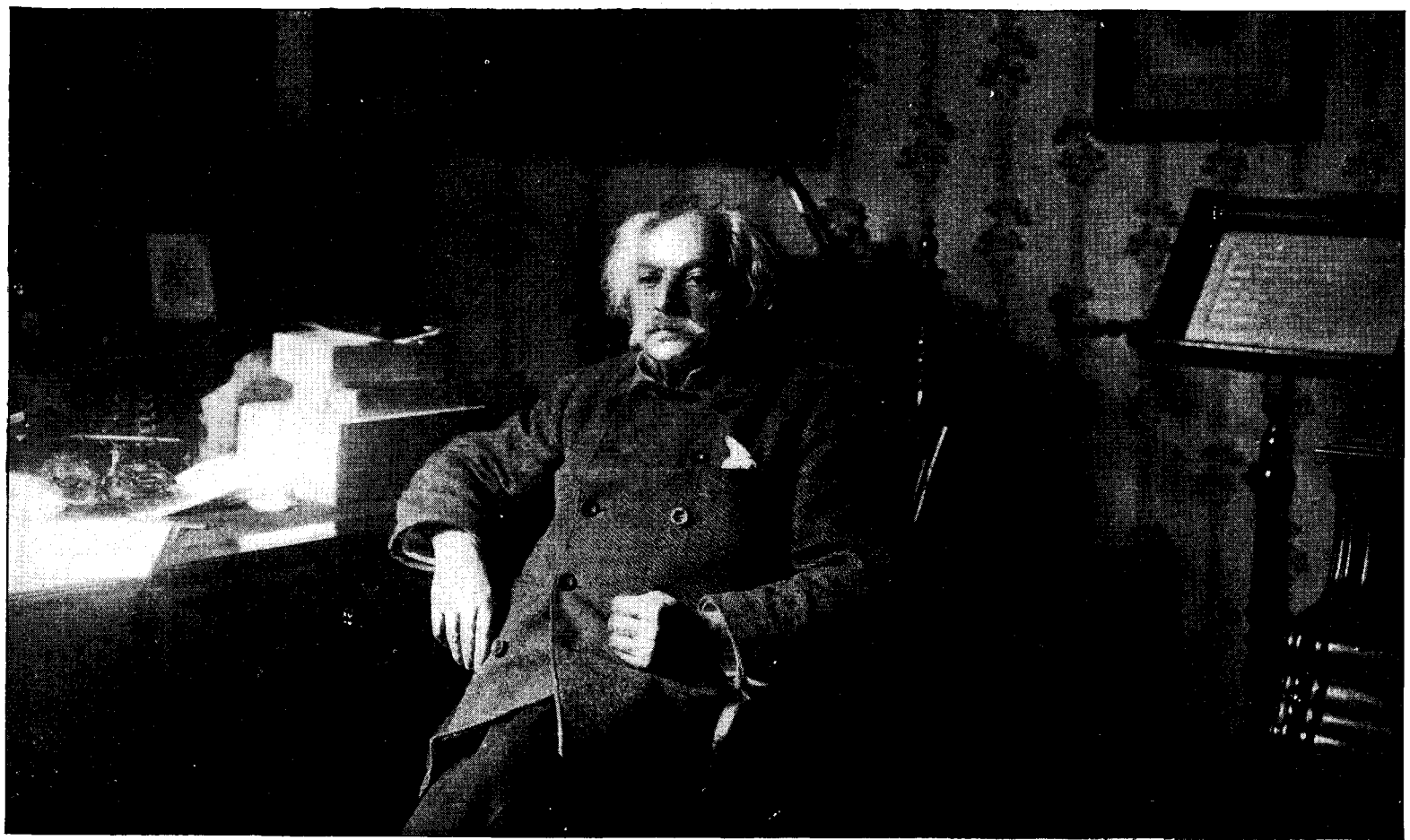

PHOTOGRAPH BY PRESS ILLUSTRATING CO.

CARL GOLDMARK

For an appreciation of the work of this eminent composer, who recently died in Vienna, see editorial pages

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ADMIRAL BEATTY

David Beatty, who has distinguished himself by his recent victory over a German fleet in the North Sea, was born in 1871 and entered the British navy in 1884, was appointed Commander in 1898, and became Rear-Admiral in 1910. His wife is an American, the only daughter of Marshall Field, of Chicago

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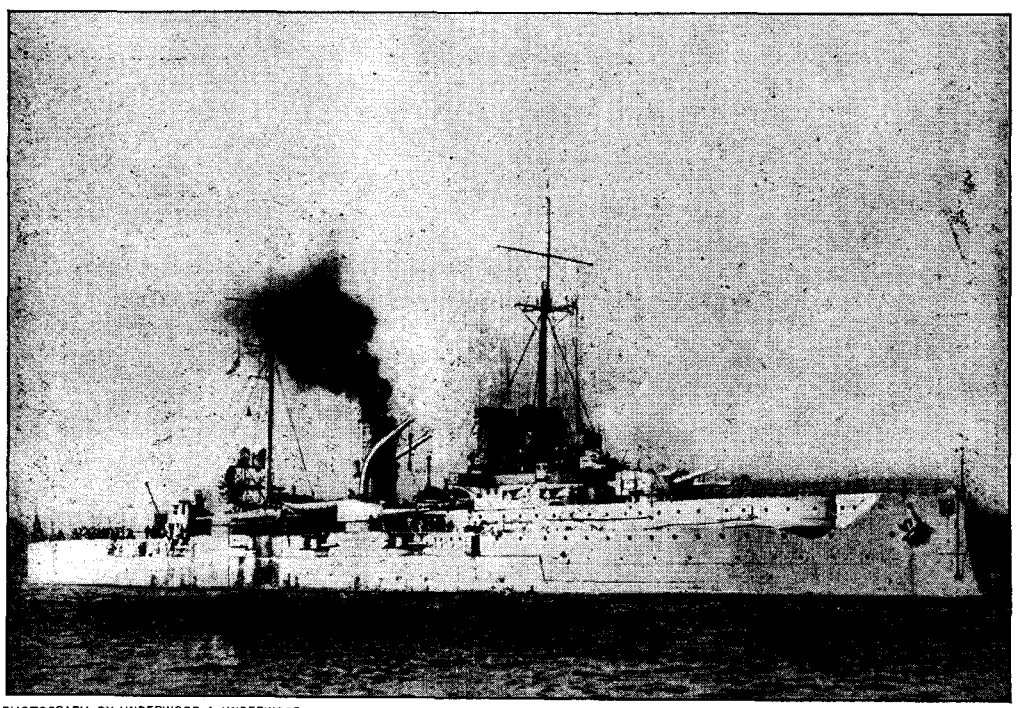
THE BATTLE CRUISER LION, ADMIRAL BEATTY'S FLAGSHIP

The Lion was damaged in her fight with the German war-ships, but succeeded in reaching port under tow. Her injuries are reported to be slight and it is expected that she will soon be in commission again



PHOTOGRAPH BY UNDERWOOD & UNDERWOOD

THE BLÜCHER, ONE OF THE FINEST OF GERMAN FIGHTING SHIPS, WHICH WAS SUNK

The destruction of the Blücher was the hardest blow which the German navy has yet received. She cost nearly $7,000,000 and carried a crew of 885 men, a large proportion of whom were lost, many of them standing at attention, with heroic disregard of their lives, when the ship went down

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FROM THE NEW YORK SUN

NOT WORTH THE QUARREL

Cartoon by Cesare

See editorial pages for a discussion of the Ship Purchase Bill

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captain heard of a projected meeting of five hundred push-cart men. He asked and received permission to address them, with the result that the push-cart men got the basic idea and promised co-operation. Then a policeman evolved another idea.

"The Greek, Yiddish, and Italian newspapers will print something about the cleaning-up rules," he suggested. When they did, he advocated getting them to print circulars in different languages for distribution among the men and to the residents of the foreign quarters. The result has been that the arrests for sanitary code violations have fallen off to the point where they are seldom made, and the city is cleaner in these quarters than it has ever been in recent years.

Commissioner Woods visited an outlying East Side precinct recently, and found it as spick and span as need be. One section particularly attracted him, and he found the patrolman and quizzed him.

"How do you manage to keep these people from throwing things in the street, officer?" he asked.

The policeman grinned.

"It's a game, sir," he confessed. "The kids here are crazy on war. I've got them playing war with the dirt and refuse. If they see an overloaded ash-can they assault it, and carry it, too. Dirt in the street is attacked and overcome just in a minute, Mr. Commissioner."

In General Order No. 48, which sets forth the handling of street cases such as these, Commissioner Woods has written a final paragraph:

"Members of the force observing any violations will take such action as will correct the condition, but will not serve summonses or make summary arrests unless directed to do so by the commanding officer."

And now the Department is tackling twin factors that have troubled the community for years—unemployment and distress. Woods believes his Department has more facilities for this work in the way of aiding the regular departments and organizations for its relief than any other. It has been said time and time again that under the present charity organization system in the city starvation is an impossibility; to which the reply of those who know is, "Piffle!"

During the week beginning November 16, by sheer accident, a patrolman caught a word or two that led him to investigate an adjacent tenement. There he found a mother and three children nearly dead from starvation, a process that had reached the third day. The family was saved, but it was touch and go. Under the present arrangement every man on the force from the officers down is responsible for the social conditions existing on a street or neighborhood. Unemployment demands attention. The station-house, inspection district center, or Headquarters itself, are, and must be considered, as clearing-houses for information—industrial and social information. Unemployment will be reported by the patrolman and passed along to the bureau that takes care of such matters; destitution will follow the same route. Somewhere in the city there exists an institution or a person that will furnish relief if the case can only be brought to the proper attention. The police will bring the one to the other. Bad sanitary conditions will be traced to their responsible source, and the responsible individual will be shown how these may be corrected. Groups of boys seen to be slipping into bad habits will be reported to the Young Men's Christian Association or Big Brother Associations, and the policemen will work with these organizations. Physical needs and defections will be handled similarly on the basis of humanity, and not alone on the basis of law infraction and punishment. In fact, any condition which interferes with the well-being and harmony of human kind is police business in a wide and general sense, and it must be taken care of in that spirit. There may be broader and more sympathetic interpretations of what constitutes police business, but they are difficult of discovery, and the present chronicler has not found them. The spirit of the thing brings fruit. Thus:

The Department recognizes that needs arise where immediate action is necessary, where the needy cannot wait for investigation and action later. To this end a system of coupon books has been established, and when a case of destitution is found the first action is to donate a book. These coupons are accepted in lieu of cash at various shops and restaurants, and are redeemable for cash at Headquarters. The traffic squad found out what the Commissioner was doing with coupon books, and begged to be allowed to contribute. It sent in $818; the police surgeons followed with $100. Now the contributions are refused until a way can be found to make them anonymous in a measure, so that no man need be made to think such contribution is morally compulsory. No man

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is to be placed in a position where he can imagine any one will think more or less of him if he does or does not contribute to the fund. The measure is one of the "first aids" that are so vitally necessary in dealing with a great city's problems, and it is constructive idealism of the right sort, and human service that is worth while. Let it be understood that at first the idea of contributions from the rank and file of the Department was never contemplated; but when the men found what was going on they asked for the *privilege* of contributing. Perhaps no group of men are closer to the human side of a city than the police; they see it all, the grave and the gay, the sad and the wicked and the joyous, and they know much about the human being that they have not been able to express with the tools of their trade as they have had to handle them. But they have practical ideas, and in their charity there is nothing of the "carefully iced" variety. It can be had hot off the griddle of a great human sympathy, no matter what people may have thought about the guardians of their peace.

It will be seen that the basic idea in the Department is to get rid of the concept of law as an oppressor, as a wholly negative type of force that is continually crying, "You shall not do this or that," that is waiting as in hiding for the unwary to commit some overt act, and then springing out upon the unfortunate and haling him off to prison, and that is in no sense constructive, but wholly mandatory. To many persons, and particularly the foreign-born population, that is what law stands for—a vast machine of menace. The new police idea is wholly different. It aims to do something that in America seems never to have been tried as an angle of police duty—to strive for the inculcation of the thought that the law is an engine of mutuality, of good will, of positive influence; that it is constructive. The new police idea is to present it as a protector; to show conclusively that fear as a crime deterrent is seldom, if ever, permanent. The spirit of this is permeating the Department. A man and his wife engaged in quarrels that disturbed the neighborhood and bred other troubles. A new policeman was assigned to this post. The night after his arrival the regular marital uproar began, whereupon the policeman took names, numbers, and details, and went away, for the trouble was of a mild variety and no actual breach of the peace occurred. The next day the policeman picked up the man in the case, and put the whole matter up to him in a friendly fashion. He took the husband back to his home, explained that he had no authority to interfere yet, but saw that he would have to eventually if the thing went on unchecked, and by his diplomacy succeeded in harmonizing the warring elements to the point where the quarrels ceased.

Obviously these things would not be possible did the ancient System gnaw at the police vitals. That System was a product of corrupt politics, and wherever police power has appeared as a factor in municipal affairs there has appeared the System. It worked along simple lines, but always for the protection of crime, vice, and corruption. To-day, no matter what uninformed persons may say, the New York Department is largely divorced from politics. Of old the positions were frankly on sale. If a roundsman wanted a sergeantcy, he bought it—if he could raise the money. To-day a political indorsement is just as valuable as a bean-shooter to a candidate for police advancement. Any one who disbelieves this may make inquiry at any political headquarters north or south of Fourteenth Street. And the ward politician can't get police favors. Woods won't grant them, and it costs something to refuse, for some of the political friends of the policemen are plausible and well-meaning. One and all get the same answer—it can't be done. They learn that if they can't get an individual favor the next man can't either, and that satisfies them, for they feel comfortable about it, and it saves them a deal of trouble. Now they've almost entirely stopped asking. They don't have to "go to the front" for a friend or relative or adherent, for good and bad alike, and they light another cigar and smile complacently.

It must not be understood that the New York Police Department is being turned into a few regiments of pedagogues, for that isn't true. Crime is being dealt with in the usual manner when it occurs, and the phases mentioned above are preventive. The nightstick is a palliative measure that has not been abandoned. They are not letting go of this useful hickory utensil until they have something better to take its place down at the Headquarters establishment. The sticks are still hickory, but the heads of the men wielding them are of softer material, and it is quite possible, as Commissioner Woods has proved, to get ideas into them.

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JAPAN, GERMANY, AND THE UNITED STATES

AN INTERVIEW WITH THE JAPANESE AMBASSADOR TO THE UNITED STATES

BY CHAUNCEY M. CADY

The author of this article has had extensive experience in educational and mission work both in China and Japan. From 1884 to 1889 he was engaged in helping to organize and develop the Department of the English Language and Literature in the Doshisha at Kyoto, Japan, and for several years thereafter he was a teacher of English in the Third Government College at Kyoto. See in connection with this article that entitled "What Will Japan do with Kiaochau?" which follows.—THE EDITORS.

WHEN Japan sent its ultimatum to Germany, statements appeared in various papers in the United States which suggested a suspicion that Japan did not mean what she said except so far as the ultimatum was a notice to Germany to leave the Orient to other Powers not at war with Japan's ally, England.

It must be confessed that when the Minister of Foreign Affairs is reported to say anything before the Diet of Japan that can in any way be made to seem to declare that Japan had made no promises in regard to Kiaochau, such a statement lends color to the oft-repeated assertion made by "yellow journals," and even by those "semi-yellow," and perchance the "blue" ones, that Japan is now going back on the assurances given more than once by her great statesman Count Okuma, that Japan has no intention of territorial possession in China nor in the South Seas.

Recognizing the very great danger lurking in this apparent following of Germany's famous declaration that all promises made between nations when the pinch comes are only "scraps of paper," I sought and obtained a conference with Viscount Chinda, the able Ambassador from Japan to the United States.

In my meeting with Viscount Chinda I was greeted with the same cordiality that I have always experienced, and with the same frankness of statement compatible with his official position, of course. I told him frankly that the reported denial of the Foreign Minister before the Diet had an ugly look and was sure to be very injurious in its influence unless it could be in some way either contradicted or explained. The Ambassador replied: "Baron Kato's statement in the Diet should not be construed as a declaration of intention on the part of the Japanese Government to retain Kiaochau. It was not an announcement of any future policy, but simply a statement of fact made in reply to a direct question on the subject. The whole question of the ultimate disposition of the captured territory will not, and from the nature of the case cannot, be decided upon before the restoration of general peace. It would be absolutely impossible for any one, including the Imperial Government themselves, to give in any wise or manner an assurance as to the final disposition of the captured territory."

Then he remarked that the statement to the effect that the Embassy had contradicted this denial was incorrect—that no one had any authority for making such a counter-statement.

I confess that my spirits went down at this apparent confirmation of what seemed bad faith to some, and I remonstrated that people would not accept that explanation, but would feel either disturbed or confirmed in their suspicion that the Japanese Government was no better than the average tricky tradesman. To this there was no reply except a smile.

If I had not had some experience in the Japanese ways of getting at a thing, I should have considered the interview closed, and have come away with my own confidence a bit shaken up, but not shaken, for I have had too much proof of the absolute fidelity with which public pledges have been kept to be easily shaken out of my confidence in the Japanese Government's integrity. So I waited, and, sure enough, the added remarks came, not exactly as I was looking for them, but so put that in the end they have been entirely satisfactory to me, and I believe fair-minded Americans will rest content in them as I did and do. With great earnestness he said: "But remember that the articles of our alliance with Great Britain stand."

At first I did not fully grasp the significance of this simple reply, for he added:

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"I cannot say any more than that now, and no Japanese official can say any more." And then it flashed upon me that he had given me the most convincing reply possible, because, as will be plain to any one conversant with the ultimatum to Germany, with the articles of alliance with Great Britain, with the statements made in connection with these two papers, and with the subsequent statements and assurances given to the United States, the phrase (to make it short), "The alliance stands," or the phrase (as I like to put it), "The ultimatum stands," covers the whole question, for either involves and implies the maintenance of the great fundamental principle of Japan's foreign policy, namely, the peace of the Orient, which includes the integrity of China both territorially and governmentally.

The phrase, "The articles of alliance stand," seemed to Viscount Chinda of such vital, far-reaching significance and import that he took occasion to repeat it once more in a different connection in relation to the going down into the South Seas of Japan to help hunt out and destroy the German warvessels that had escaped in the darkness from the harbor of Tsingtau.

Thus the Ambassador has brought us back to that which abides in these times of whiffling winds of suspicion, shifting sands of surmise, and baffling currents of doubt. We should have naught but thanks and renewed trust in what may be, what ought to be, a sheet anchor to our faith, the protecting shadow of a great rock to our confidence—the terms of alliance between England and Japan.

It is time that Americans take the same attitude toward the Japanese with regard to their promises or statements or professions that we demanded that others should take toward us when we took Cuba and the Philippines. The Japanese have shown us that they have had no suspicion of our good faith under similar circumstances. During all the time of the war with Spain and for thirteen years after I never heard a word of suspicion, much less of doubt, that we did not intend to do as we promised. On the contrary, the attitude of the intelligent, worth-while people in Japan was voiced by Viscount Chinda when he said to me: "We have never had anything but approval in your taking the Philippines. We have never had any objections to it because we knew that you are a people, a government, that did not believe in military aggression. Therefore we felt safe that you would not use the Philippine Islands as a base for military aggrandizement against the Japanese or any other Eastern people."

I submit that we ought to be at least as generous in our trust of Japan as this statement shows that Japan has been in her trust of us.

WHAT WILL JAPAN DO WITH KIAOCHAU?

BY C. V. HIBBARD

NOW that Japan and Great Britain have dispossessed the Germans and taken over the railway that was to have made Tsingtau the Hamburg of Shantung, many are asking, some with foreboding, what Japan may be expected to do in her new sphere of influence. Will she turn over to China all the rights, properties, and privileges wrested from the Germans? Twenty years ago, at the behest of France, Germany, and Russia, Japan returned to China the territory in Manchuria acquired at the cost of her first foreign war, and saw the Russian eagles raised in Port Arthur within a year. It cost Japan a billion dollars and fifty thousand lives to oust Russia and again occupy the territory which China was unable to defend against the land hunger of Russia. Japan has incurred the lasting enmity of a great nation and stands or falls with the Allies. Can China give any assurance that, this coveted harbor once returned to her, Kiaochau will not again come under the Kaiser's sway? It may not surprise us if Japan fails to place implicit confidence in paper guarantees of the integrity of Chinese territory. If in the near future Japan does restore to China the district of Tsingtau and all its related interests, hers will be an act of magnanimity beside which Cuba freed or the Boxer indemnity restored to China lose their unique value as examples of national altruism.

Will Japan perhaps retain for the present Kiaochau and the German railway? If so,

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what may we reasonably expect of her? This may be best answered by a consideration of her policy and conduct in Manchuria under somewhat similar conditions.

Marco Polo tells us that in his time the Great Khan had a vast hunting preserve that extended far to the northeast, into what is now Manchuria. Indeed, until the last decade Manchuria has remained a hunting-ground. Outside the walled cities no man's property was safe; and to-day the people retain the age-long habit of beginning a day's journey before the first peep of dawn, lest night should overtake them on the road. The great gray wolves and the northern tigers were not more merciless than the robbers, who did not hesitate to slay the peasant for his petty savings. Roads there were none, and the farmers who ventured into this half wilderness grew only such crops as they could consume, together with some lighter produce to exchange for cotton, paper, sugar, and firecrackers. The hills were deforested until it became necessary to comb the land for every weed and blade of grass to cook food and warm the brick beds, where alone one might find comparative comfort when the paper windows rattled and snapped in the bitter winds that sweep down from the north.

Russia was the first of the European Powers to send her scouts into this no-man's-land. After the Boxer uprising she completed the Siberian Railway to the warm waters of the Yellow Sea. But a military railway and the building of a mighty fortress do not develop the resources of a country. The bandits that infested the country were never controlled. Manchuria remained as in the time of Marco Polo, until the flames of burning farm-houses lighted the retreat of the Russians before the Japanese advance.

What changes have come in ten years of Japanese occupation? Except for the three-mile strip along the South Manchuria Railway, gorgeous Chinese officials attended by trumpeters and mounted guards still come and go through the gates of their brick-walled cities, and the farmers and the village merchants hasten as of old to bolt and bar their doors before the sun disappears toward Europe. For all that, a great change has come over the land.

At the close of the Russo-Japanese War the wreck of the Russian railway, the ruined fortress of Port Arthur, and the new-born commercial city of Dairen, together with certain administrative and mining rights, were ceded to Japan. The South Manchuria Railway Company was incorporated for the purpose of taking over from the Japanese military authorities the fruits of conquest. Baron Goto, the president of the new-formed company, undertook to make the railway a highway of the nations, an avenue for international commerce. The new railway with its branches has linked the farmers' fields with the markets of the world. In the old days produce could not be moved until the winter frosts hardened the roads, and then only at great cost—six or eight mules to a ton of freight. Even when brought out to the rivers produce must wait until winter released its hold on the waterways and opened the way to the slow junks that dawdled from port to port along the China coast.

The soya bean was the first of Manchuria's products to respond to the new opportunity. In every town of South Manchuria there had long been little mills in which a blindfolded mule trod round and round with a great stone mill-wheel after the manner of Samson when enslaved by the Philistines. Here the bean was crushed and an oil extracted by a process of steaming and crushing in rude hand presses. This oil was used for food and lighting.

When the railway came, the first beans went to Europe. The oil found its place as an equivalent to cottonseed oil. The price of beans increased sixty per cent, and has never gone back. Thanks to the railway, the farmer was able to market his beans promptly. By the old process of pressing, seven or eight per cent of the oil was left in the residue. High-power modern machinery imported from Europe greatly cheapened the process and extracted the last drop of oil. The residue, rich in nitrogen, found a ready market as a fertilizer in the close-worked fields of Japan and South China.

In the zone along the railway administered by the Japanese the Chinese found quiet and security. New towns like the railway town of Kaiyuan, with its rapidly growing trade, grew up about the stations. Exports greatly exceeded imports, and the people began to buy more and better foreign goods. Merchants and farmers prospered. Each spring great numbers of Chinese from crowded Shantung Province thronged the fourth-class cars and trudged along the roads to the untilled fields of Manchuria.

The mines of Fushun show old pits where shards of ancient glazed pottery testify to the

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early use of coal; but the mines remained undeveloped until, a few years ago, the Japanese put in thoroughly modern machinery. Now they are yielding seven thousand tons per day of high-grade steam coal, and the seam, one hundred and fifty feet thick, appears to be practically inexhaustible. Here alone thousands of Chinese are employed, at wages about double those which formerly prevailed. Other mines of great value are being developed, and already the production of coal in this country, formerly without fuel, exceeds a pound a day for every man, woman, and child in all Manchuria.

Education in the Chinese towns had never gone beyond the little group of boys learning by rote the teachings of Confucius; but the railway set up primary schools for both Japanese and Chinese. In the technical schools of the railway numbers of Chinese boys are learning how to use mechanical tools and railway apparatus. In the medical school at Mukden Chinese and Japanese, sitting side by side, listen to lectures on sanitation or the use of the X ray in surgery. The good roads and sanitary settlements of the Japanese are an invaluable object-lesson in modern civilization.

In 1911, when the army of migrating laborers returning to their homes in Shantung brought from the north the terrible pneumonic plague, the Chinese officials were helpless in the face of the ignorance and indifference of the people. Train-loads of men known to have been subject to infection were herded in the poorest quarters, and tens of thousands died. Some Chinese and European physicians rendered valuable service, and the more enlightened Chinese officials helped to stay the plague; but it was the Japanese who at once established detention camps, rushed in doctors and nurses, and refused to carry as passengers on the railway any person not certified by a Japanese consul. Even in the Japanese settlements the Chinese secretly threw the dead bodies into the street or under cover of night forsook the house, leaving the dead alone. Yet so efficient were the Japanese methods of house-to-house examinations and disinfection that among the Chinese in the railway zone there were relatively but few cases; and among the Japanese themselves, even those who were attending the sick and burning the abandoned dead, there were only two or three cases of the disease.

Indeed, in North China, where cholera and plague are always present, nothing is more important than hospital and quarantine service. In this the Japanese have excelled. Well-equipped hospitals are maintained in all the more important railway towns, and the harbor authorities in Dairen are prepared to house in comfort and give expert attention to ship-loads of passengers when infection is suspected. Smallpox has marked the face of nearly every one in Manchuria, but that scourge has been kept out of the railway zone except for occasional cases.

From the time your steamer enters, between the brown hills, on the deep-blue waters of the bay at Dairen, the chosen emblem of the South Manchuria Railway, a bowlegged M and section of a rail rampant, is ever before one—on the funnel of the snub-nosed tug that butts your ship into place at the wharves, on the railway coaches, on the carriages that wait to take you to the hotel, and over the door of the hotel itself, on the street cars, on every parcel of washing from the laundry, on the bills from the electric light or gas companies. If you are a distinguished foreigner, you may be a guest at the mansion of the president of the railway, and there you will find the emblem on the silver. If you are ill, on your doctor's prescription the same symbol greets the eye. If you die, your remains are carried to the crematory in a hearse bearing the same mark neatly inscribed. What could the Inter-State Commerce Commission do with such a corporation? Its varied and manifold activities tend to engender suspicion in the mind of an American. But those who have charged the company with discrimination against foreign shippers have been unable to produce substantial evidence. The remarkable group of men who have been in control for the past seven years have given themselves unreservedly to the building up of the various railway enterprises. Europeans and Americans living in the country have experienced countless courtesies at the hands of these men, and many have found them warm friends. Manchuria, once most backward child of the Middle Kingdom, has surpassed some of the elder brethren in the last ten years. In the face of the great benefits which the Japanese administration has brought to Manchuria, it is ungracious, not to say unfair, to voice suspicion for which there is no proof. Let us believe rather that the history of Japanese enterprises in Manchuria is an index to what we may expect of her while she remains in

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Kiaochau. Under the terms of her agreement with America Japan has faithfully limited the number and class of Japanese coming to the United States; in the discharge of her obligations under the dual alliance she has eagerly met every obligation to Great Britain. Japan has always been faithful to her treaty obligations, and Japan has promised to return Kiaochau to China. The Chinese people and all the world must understand that Japan can fulfill the promise only when she has an absolute guarantee that the door of opportunity and commerce in Shantung will not again be closed by the "necessity" of some colony-seeking European power. When this Monroe Doctrine of Asia has won recognition, Japan will return to China the territory of Kiaochau.

THE AMERICAN MUSICIAN

BY DANIEL GREGORY MASON

America spends an enormous sum of money annually for music; by the financial test, therefore (which is a commonly accepted test in America), Americans are a musical people; but the music that the people of America hear in concerts is mainly made in Europe. American railways we know; American food products, American watches and shoes, American inventions; but who knows American music? What chance has the American composer unless he writes ragtime? Is it worth while for an American to be a composer? Is there any prospect that America will produce music worthy to be regarded as art and yet distinctively American?

Such questions as these are discussed in two articles, of which we here print the first. The other, which will appear in a succeeding issue of The Outlook, has a similar title, "The American Composer," and is by Mr. Arthur Whiting. Mr. Mason, the author of the present article, as well as Mr. Whiting, has the distinction of being both composer and critic.

Mr. Mason is the author of a number of books on music, the earliest of which, "From Grieg to Brahms," based on articles which first appeared in The Outlook, established him as one of the foremost writers on musical subjects in English. He is Assistant Professor of Music at Columbia University, and a lecturer on music well known to many audiences. His compositions for piano and for violin have been performed in this country; and his piano quartette has been played by the Kneisel Quartette with Ossip Gabrilowitsch. Mr. Mason is a graduate of Harvard College.

Mr. Whiting, whose article is soon to appear, has rendered unique service to music in America by his lecture-recitals at American colleges. By means of these he has given to audiences of college men a survey of the range of modern chamber music, interpreted by explanations which combine accurate knowledge with humor and with an understanding of his audiences. He is one of the few American musicians who have a practical understanding of the forerunners of the pianoforte, such as the harpsichord, and their music. As a composer Mr. Whiting has a secure place which he has won through undeviating devotion to artistic principles as well as through his unusual gifts.

In many respects Mr. Mason and Mr. Whiting agree; but their two articles are written from somewhat different points of view. The main difference is a difference of emphasis. Mr. Whiting, in his forthcoming article, emphasizes the National characteristics that may be expressed by the American composer; while Mr. Mason in the present article emphasizes the opportunity that the American composer has

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as the heir of all the nations of Europe. Both agree that American music will profit only by the work of those composers who recognize and adapt themselves to the severe requirements of their art.—THE EDITORS

THOSE enthusiasts who have been telling us for some time, at every opportunity, that the only hope of American music lay in a "National" school founded on Indian, Negro, or ragtime tunes, and that it was fatal for us to listen to the siren voice of Europe, seem to me to be making a curious error, and to be, in effect, adjuring us to forego our one great advantage. They are asking us to throw away our birthright of wide cosmopolitan influence for a mess of purely parochial pottage. They bewail the lack in America of just those geographical and racial boundary lines that split up Europe into a series of more or less petty and hostile camps. They invite us to descend from the point of vantage good fortune has given us, a little removed both in space and in time from the thick of the battle, where, if we are wise, we shall rather stay and take breath and profit by the wider views. Our position, to be sure, has its peculiar dangers, which we may presently discuss; but that is only the more reason why we should make the most of its advantages.

The young American composer has spread out before him, as the models through the study of which he is to acquire an important part of his technical equipment and of his general attitude towards art, the masterpieces of the various European countries, among which he may pick and choose as his individual taste directs, and without being hampered by those annoying racial and national jealousies from which the most intelligent European cannot quite free himself. What he may acquire of the special virtue of each school—the delicacy and distinction of the French, the solid structural power of the Germans, the suave and rich coloring of the Russians, the austere dignity of the English—is limited, not by the accident of birth, but only by his own assimilative power. No element in his complex nature need be starved for want of its proper food. He is placed in the midst of the stream of world influences to make of himself what he will and can.

Is it not inconceivable that one thus privileged to speak, within the measure of his ability, a world language should ever content himself with a Negro or Indian dialect? It would be so perhaps did we not consider that, in order to speak what I have called the world language of cosmopolitan music as it exists to-day, one must spend years in laborious discipline and in obscurity, while any tyro can make a certain effect and gain a certain prominence by stammering in an idiom strongly enough tinctured with local color. Vanity is the immemorial enemy of art; if the itch to be conspicuous once infect him, the artist forgets all those subtle adaptations, those difficult reconcilements, which were formerly his passion, and makes a crude effect that appeals much more to the primitive minds of the masses. And this he may do quite unconsciously and in the sincere belief that he is pursuing the highest ideals. In the presence of the immediate good, of recognition and acclaim, it is pitifully easy to forget the remote better, the broader, finer, subtler beauty that is not yet understood.

But if the picturesque, the quaint, the piquant, is by nature more quick to appeal than the beautiful, it is also more short-lived. For this reason those writers in all ages and countries who depend largely on local color are promptly acclaimed and soon forgotten, while those who aim at the more universal human qualities win gradually a place that proves permanent. Bret Harte was doubtless considered more "American" by his own generation than Emerson. Perhaps he is, but, if so, we feel that such Americanism is comparatively unimportant. Shakespeare is far less English than Defoe, Dante is not so notably Italian, or Goethe so notably German, as are many lesser men. Or, to come back to music and to a much-talked-of instance of my present point, where are now the Russian "nationalists" who excluded Tschaikowsky the "cosmopolite" from their magic circle? For a while we listened to their melancholy Russian cadences with fascinated interest, in spite of their crude harmonization, their incoherent form, their lack of instinct for style, because we were pleased with the novelty. Now the novelty has worn off, and for human nature's daily food we find Tschaikowsky, who made the most of his opportunities, rose above a narrow exclusiveness, and assimilated power wherever he found it, far preferable.

The true difficulty of the American composer's position, then, is to be found, not in the poverty of the native folk-song, but in the

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confusing variety of the foreign influences in which he is so rich. He has suffered and is still suffering from an embarrassment of riches, from a mental indigestion. His cosmopolitanism is too often a mere flabby eclecticism. His technique is miscellaneous, his style without distinction, his art as a whole lacks individuality. This featurelessness is the typical defect of American compositions of the present generation, it seems to me—typical in spite of some notable exceptions. The technical deficiencies of our pioneer forefathers are more and more becoming things of the past; free intercourse with Europe and the wholesale importation of skilled European musicians have refined away the crudities with surprising rapidity; there are among us to-day musical workmen whose skill in symphony, chamber music, and opera will compare favorably with that of Europeans. Where we still fail is in that subtle, indefinable, and indispensable touch of personal distinction which may be recognized in artists so diverse, both individually and racially, as Strauss, d'Indy, Debussy, Rachmaninoff, Paderewski, Sibelius—even Elgar. What is the secret of this distinction?

We may get a clue to the right answer by considering a peculiar case, an exceptional case, among ourselves—the exception that proves the rule—the case of MacDowell. The supreme place he undoubtedly holds among our composers is due precisely to this quality of personal distinction, of individuality, to the fact that his music, in spite of the pronounced Grieg and Raff elements in it, does not sound quite like that of any one else. Technically MacDowell has grave deficiencies; his harmonic system is singularly limited, mannered, and monotonous; his polyphony is weak; his "drawing," as a painter would say, is often halting and awkward. His range of expression, moreover, is not wide, and within it he frequently cloys by an over-sweet sentimentalism. But MacDowell is sincere, and he is always himself. There are no unfused elements in his style, no outstanding features, that we feel to have been borrowed and not assimilated. His style is very narrow, but it is his own. And the result is that, although we shall soon forget some of our composers who are far cleverer than he, we shall not forget MacDowell.

The fact is, we begin to see, eclecticism is as dangerous as it is desirable, and will contribute to the formation of an artist only when it is controlled by an instinctive sense of how much one can assimilate, and the courage to reject the rest. And here we come, I think, to one of those peculiar difficulties of the position in which the American composer finds himself. It is hard for him, recognizing, as his natural alertness of perception and his detached point of view enable him to do, the merits of many different European aims and methods, and, keenly sensitive as he must be to his own shortcomings in respect to any of them, it is hard for him to distinguish between those that he can possibly assimilate to his own uses and those that must remain alien to him; and it is doubly hard to let the latter alone, voluntarily restricting his field in order that he may be the master of it. Yet these selections, these sacrifices, are at the very foundation of artistic personality. It is no more possible for a human being to be, let us say, at once as subtle as Debussy and as gorgeous as Strauss than it is to be in two places at once. Which will you do without? But the young American composer is at once too timid and too ambitious to do without anything; in the attempt to be everywhere at the same time he cuts himself up into little pieces that end by being nowhere.

The frank and courageous acceptance of limitations is, in truth, the first step toward artistic individualty; a man can never be an individual, as the very derivation of the word may remind him, so long as he remains divided, spread out very wide and very thin, unwilling to take sides, but only when he concentrates himself, is loyal to one cause, grows out from one nucleus. What this nucleus shall be, indeed, differs according to circumstances. For the European musician it is to some extent decided beforehand, by the conditions of birth, of national and racial allegiance. The American, as we said, to begin with is freer in this respect; but we may now add that he is no less bound to find a cause, a unifying center, if he would get beyond mere clever imitation and become a genuine person. He must love his cause so singly that he will cleave to it, and forsake all else. Now what is this cause for the American composer but the utmost musical beauty that he, as an individual man with his own qualities and defects, is capable of understanding and striving towards? And what is the "all else" that he must forsake, save those types of musical beauty which, whatever may be their intrinsic worth, do not

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come home to him, do not arouse a sympathetic vibration in him, leave him cold? He must take sides. He must be, not a philosopher, but a partisan. He must have good hearty enthusiasms, and good hearty prejudices. Only so can he be an individual.

It matters not one jot, provided this course of personal loyalty to a cause be steadfastly pursued, what the special characteristics of style of the music may be to which one gives one's devotion. Let A give his life to studying the delicate color scheme of the French "ultra-moderns;" let B find his joy in a polyphony based on Bach's; let C develop lovingly the cadences or rhythms of Negro and Indian tunes; all three will be good musicians, all three good Americans—for, after all, American music is only music. The man who is neither good musician nor good American is the botcher, the dilettante, the clever amateur—he who is too lazy to learn his business, too pretentious to limit his claims, too busy talking about art to study it. Such babblers have always been, and always will be, naturally, far more numerous than the efficient workers; and they will doubtless continue to fill the newspapers and magazines with their silly superficialities, and do their utmost to confuse the public into forgetting that sincerity and skill are the only things that can ever be justly demanded of an artist.

We have glanced at some of the problems that beset the musician in America to-day, but we have not yet touched upon what may perhaps turn out to be the greatest difficulty of all that he has to face. This difficulty is primarily an economic one, but there is no part of life, physical, moral, intellectual, spiritual, where it does not make itself felt. Stated in most summary form, it is this: Musical composition, involving as it does a highly complex technique, arduous to acquire, and a free activity of the imagination that comes only with leisure, requires much time. But it earns no money. Hence the composer must earn his living by other work, which will occupy the time he needs for composing. Let us glance briefly at the separate items in this disturbing train of thought.

First, composition takes time. Few people probably have any adequate idea of the immense complexity of the composer's technique, even as compared with that of the prose writer or poet, the architect or the painter. The tonal material he works in is incomparably subtle and intangible; its relationships, harmonic, rhythmic, melodic, contrapuntal, which he must learn not only to understand but to manipulate, are of an indescribable complexity; their difficulties are increased many fold by the empirical methods of notation, the use of many different clefs, and of transposing instruments, which play other notes than those written. And all this concerns merely the grammar of the art, its elementary basis, which, moreover, has until recently been so inadequately taught in all our conservatories and colleges that the earnest student has had to relearn them for himself in maturity. At a higher level they are all the subtle distinctions of musical structure and style to be apprehended. A student who would take advantage of the wide and unbiased view of European music which we have seen to be a special privilege of the intelligent American must do far more than hear or read through the chief works of the many masters; he must know them in and out, learn to breathe the peculiar atmosphere of each—he must, in short, live with them.

And not only that; for after analysis and assimilation come synthesis, creation; and as the one requires laborious, minute, detailed study, the other requires a wide margin of leisure in which the mind can forget all these details, empty itself of all irrelevance, and prepare to receive whatever thoughts may visit it. Here is more time needed, in great spaces. This is a full and varied way of living, indeed, that we are sketching; and we have not yet made out how the artist is to live at all. How is he to get money to support himself?

Not, certainly, from his compositions. He will do well if they bring him enough to pay for ink and paper; they will surely not pay for their own copying. The reason is simple, but often misunderstood. This composer, by hypothesis, is trying to write music that is sincere, that presents the kind of beauty in tones that he hears, and that no one else has heard in just that way before. Now, as no one else has heard it, no one understands it at first, and no one will pay for it. They are quite willing to pay for what they do understand. "Write in a more easy, popular style," pleaded Mozart's publisher, "or I will not print a note or give you a kreutzer." But Mozart made the right answer: "Then, my good sir, I have only to resign myself and die of hunger." He knew well enough that unpopularity was the price of originality, and, what was more unusual, he was willing

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to pay it. Fortunately for him, he was of a happy-go-lucky disposition, could get along with little, and had such a genius for music that when he was composing he forgot whether he had had any dinner or not.

There have been many composers of far less genius than Mozart's who have been willing to go hungry for the sake of music. Where the rub comes is their having to go hungry *of music*. One may make shift to bear a good many privations, one may even welcome sacrifices, for the sake of a great enthusiasm ; but how if the enthusiasm itself has to be sacrificed ? This is the one supreme hardship which every man who lives for an ideal has most to dread, and it is one to which, it seems to me, the American composer is particularly apt to be subjected. For one thing, there are no systematic financial provisions made for him, as there are in the prizes and pensions of Europe. For another, there are fewer positions where he may earn a salary that he can live on and retain sufficient time for his own work. But these are trivialities compared with the real, fundamental difficulty which lies in our general social standards of living. We tacitly assume that the measure of a man's success is his income ; we have not, as a people, risen to the conception that the things which are paid for may be comparatively worthless, and those which are unsalable may be precious ; we do not understand what is meant by "an honorable poverty." These pervasive social conceptions affect the artist, whether he will or no, consciously and unconsciously, in a thousand ways. His attention is distracted a hundred times a day from what he ought to do to what will pay. He loses time and dissipates energy in compromises. He is pestered, annoyed, confused, irritated. The standard of expenditure is raised so high by those who live only for show that to maintain even a decently self-respecting position he must use up his precious moments in drudgery.

Is the situation, then, hopeless ? Is there no way by which the composer in America can extricate himself from this vicious circle that the more and better he composes the less time he has to compose ? There is certainly no way of cutting the knot ; if it is to be loosened at all, it must be patiently untangled. Patience is, then, perhaps the final and most necessary quality for the American composer. He must be assimilative, and he must be individual ; but even more must he be patient if he is to continue to be at all. He must discharge the work he does for a livelihood as conscientiously as he can, and seize whatever moments it may allow him for his own work. He must cut down his material requirements to the minimum and honor his own poverty. He must learn to find his satisfaction in the work itself, and not expect recognition, which is bound to be late (later in America even than elsewhere), and likely to be mistaken. Above all, he must not pity himself or grow embittered, for in the possession of a lifelong enthusiasm, an ideal that he can always work towards and will never reach, he has the best gift that life has to offer.

THE SPECTATOR

THE Spectator has been interested from the first in the efforts made to put fresh life into rural communities ; to bring the families of the country closer to their town neighbors ; and not only that, but to give the families themselves more opportunities to come together and know each other. So, when the Spectator promised to do his part at one of the meetings of the Farmers' Club, at the old brick school-house four miles from town, it was not with the idea that he could discourse upon the enrichment of the soil, the extermination of pests, or the productive qualities of cows and poultry, but rather to make his hearers forget their farm problems for the time being and lift them into other walks of life by telling some of his own experiences among people in the West who are more isolated than these farmers of New England.

The summons to redeem the promise came in January, when it was a question whether zero weather would freeze the Spectator's ears on the drive out, or a "January thaw" would make country roads impassable for either sleigh or carriage. But neither extreme of weather was the Spectator's lot. A moderately cold day, with good sleighing, made the trip an easy and enjoyable one,

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and it was with no regrets that the Spectator embraced the opportunity to take a sleigh-ride over the same country roads that he loved so well in summer.

When the Spectator arrived at his destination and was ready to enter the school-house, near it a newly built bungalow of the most approved California type met his vision, and he was carried away to southern California, where the bungalow doth abound. A California bungalow planted there in the snows of New England, in a community where farms are farms and not "ranches"! It seemed as much out of its natural and rightful environment as a Colonial house would be in Los Angeles, yet there it stood, as if it had come to stay. There was the pointed half-story, used only as a "cubby" or storeroom, the wide porch with door opening into the living-room, and the large plate-glass windows with transparencies of colored glass above—a veritable "true-to-name" bungalow. The Spectator afterwards learned from the owner that the plan really came from California, and was followed exactly with the exception of putting in back stairs to the open room above; and he also learned that the expense of building such a bungalow in this country is three hundred dollars more than in California, the excavation for cellar and the steam-heating being the two largest items in the extra expense.

From the newly erected bungalow to the hundred-year-old brick school-house seemed like taking a long step backward, although they were near one another. He had read of "the little red school-house" in song and story, and here it was before him, unoccupied and tenantless as a school from lack of children—the meeting-place of the fathers and mothers who years ago occupied the seats which have been replaced by tables and benches, cook-stove and dishes. Horses with sleighs were hitched to the trees of a neighboring grove, children were looking from the doors and windows of the school-room, and as the Spectator entered the door he was greeted with savory odors such as never came from cold lunches carried by children in tin pails. It was an appeal to the stomach rather than to the brain; yet who shall say that the mission of this little school building is not being fulfilled, though in a different fashion? Once a month the people of this farming community, within a radius of five or six miles, meet here for a day of sociability and a good time. The hot dinner at noon—such as only farmers' wives can prepare—is followed by a profitable talk or lecture from some agricultural professor, or by entertaining readings from an outside guest. At the time of the Spectator's visit between forty and fifty were present—a small attendance, owing to the fact that "now is the accepted time" for cutting ice, which business cannot be deferred for an indoor picnic.

When the secretary finished reading her report of the last meeting, she called attention to some photographs pinned upon the wall, showing a business man of Chicago (who had recently visited the school, but showed no such interest as the "old boys" in fiction who come back to their schools and look for their initials on their old desks) with wife, children, and grandchildren. The man had been an attendant at this school thirty-five years ago, and, as she enumerated the names of his brothers, she said, "You remember, William was the eldest." "Yes, we knew Bill," a man responded; "but what became of Ed?" The ominous silence that followed seemed to tell the Spectator that "Ed" was the black sheep of the family, and the less said the better.

The invited guest who preceded the Spectator—a grave gentleman of between sixty and seventy—said by way of introduction: "It is very fitting that I should come to this old school where my mother taught before her marriage, and where, fifty-one years ago, I was the schoolmaster for a winter term. I see three here to-day who were my pupils at that time." In response to a request from the audience he gave the three names. "Impossible!" said one man, whose name had been mentioned; "I wasn't six years old at that time." "We'll see about that," said the speaker; and, taking from his pocket the well-worn list of pupils fifty-one years ago, added, "Yes, you were six years and two months."

The Spectator was amazed that a boy teacher of seventeen should have been so profoundly impressed with his duties as to retain a list of his scholars for over half a century, and it seemed remarkable that through the changing years—removals of home, losses by fire, and the inevitable house-cleanings of New England—such a list could

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be preserved and presented at exactly the right moment, on the right occasion.

As this brick school-house has served its purpose and performed its mission, though in varying ways, for nearly a hundred years, the Spectator could but wonder what the changes of the next century would bring to it. Who would have dreamed in the olden days that a veritable California bungalow would be its nearest neighbor, or that the desks would give way to dining-tables, and the old wood stove be supplanted by a cooking range? The Spectator believes that these innovations are signs of progress, and that as they increase there will be a narrowing chasm between country and town.

THE NEW BOOKS

Through Siberia, the Land of the Future. By Fridtjof Nansen. Translated by Arthur G. Chater. The Frederick A. Stokes Company, New York. $5.

It has been said that one characteristic of a great man is simplicity of statement. That characteristic was very evident in Dr. Nansen's "Farthest North." It is equally evident in his "Through Siberia." He takes us from Christiania northward, around the Kara Sea and along the Yenesei River to the Trans-Siberian Railway, thence to Vladivostok on the Pacific, and back to St. Petersburg, now Petrograd. The volume treats of the question as to whether Siberia can be opened commercially by a trade route through the Kara Sea. At present freight by rail is more or less prohibitive on account of the enormous distances to be traversed, and railways are, for the most part, lacking. Those who want to initiate a sea route invited the Norwegian explorer to head the expedition because of his familiarity with Arctic ice. After his experience with the Kara Sea he declares that it is a possible route. As such it would open up an immensely rich country, whose mineral wealth is only dimly comprehended, and in which cattle-raising is still in its infancy. The Siberian wheat lands are better known. They are greater in extent than Germany and France together. The soil of Siberia yields more per acre than that of Russia, and, if the produce of the immensely potential Siberian wheat lands can be brought cheaply to Europe, Russian economic power would gain great advantage.

The part of Dr. Nansen's book which records his impressions of the yellow race is of equal interest. He shows that, like ourselves, Russia has a vexed question in Chinese immigration, due to the lack of labor in Siberia and the ambition to exploit the country's great natural wealth. The Chinaman is frugal, and hence works for lower wages than does the European. "In addition, he is, on the whole, more capable. Besides this, the Chinese and Koreans are industrious and steady workers, which is not always the case with the Russians out here." As a whole, Dr. Nansen's book has something of an American flavor, because it is largely devoted to describing new towns, which, as the author says, "have grown up with American rapidity." No book on Siberia with which we are acquainted better reflects the startling change which has come over that region or the change which has come over the Russian attitude towards Siberia. Dr. Nansen notes that this change took place just after the Japanese war, and the figures of the sums annually devoted by the Government to Siberian development are certainly an impressive proof of Russian progress in this direction.

Westminster Abbey. By Helen Marshall Pratt. In 2 vols. Duffield & Co., New York. $4.50.

Miss Pratt is well known as the author of "Cathedral Churches of England." Like her previous work, this combines architectural features of interest with much historical and biographical material. In the latter, as we are glad to note, the human element is especially emphasized: for instance, in her mention of the builder of the early abbey-church of Westminster, Edward the Confessor; of Henry III, who built the present church; and of the kings and queens, knights and ladies, poets and heroes, who sleep in the Abbey.

Westminster was so named to distinguish it from the foundation in the east of London which was the East-minster and is now St. Paul's. With the exception of the Renaissance work of the west and Henry VII's chapel on the east, Westminster maintains the Early English style of Henry III, which was never substantially altered; this is specially remarkable during the ages when the Decorated and Perpendicular Gothic styles were in use throughout England. Miss Pratt calls attention to the fact that the larger part of the eastern arm lies behind the altar, and that the choir, as originally built, must have been far more imposing than it is to-day. Of course she dwells on the peculiar importance and beauty of the transepts of Westminster, contrasting them with those at Ely

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and Exeter, Winchester and Norwich. We note that, in Miss Pratt's judgment, the west front has been hopelessly injured by the Renaissance towers.

The merit of these volumes as a work of reference has been immensely increased by their very ample index, the appendices classifying architectural periods, the dates of buildings in England and France preceding and during that of the Abbey, the list of dimensions showing how the Abbey compares with other cathedrals, the list of sovereigns, abbots, and deans, and the signally rich bibliography. Perhaps Westminster Abbey is the most interesting building in the world. It is fortunate that it has been so worthily and amply described.

Fear and Conventionality. By Elsie Clews Parsons. G. P. Putnam's Sons, New York. $1.50.

This is a decidedly interesting but curiously self-contradictory and inadequate book. Its purpose is excellent, aiming as it does at a scientific analysis and explanation of the common conventions of life as regards hospitality, acquaintanceship, intercourse with foreigners, sex relations, etc. And in its main findings it probably is sound, particularly in the assertion that conventions are more than mere forms, and represent a compromise between two conflicting human instincts—the longing for companionship and fear of the unknown and the unlike.

But the author is not always happy in her citation of instances to support this view, and she certainly has not cited enough instances, her illustrative cases being drawn chiefly from social usages among Americans, English, and a comparatively few primitive peoples. The conventions of European society are scarcely touched on. Moreover, her closing chapter, with its picturesque prediction of an unconventionalized society of the future, at once brings into doubt the soundness of all that has gone before; for if, as the author insists, human nature is much the same in all countries and all ages, and if conventions are rooted in fundamental human instincts, it surely follows that, no matter how society may change, it will always have conventions. This, of course, is the crucial question, and it is of such practical importance that it is to be hoped the problem of conventions will again be attacked, and with much more thoroughness, either by the present author or some other student.

Oddsfish. By Robert Hugh Benson. Dodd, Mead & Co., New York. $1.35.

This queerly named book—"Oddsfish" was a common exclamation of Charles II—has unusual merit as a historical novel. The late Monsignor Benson naturally presented the Roman Catholic view of the period treated, but there is no straining of history to make a point. The infamous villainy of Titus Oates and the delusion which he brought upon the people of England could not be exaggerated, and Protestant historians have written as strongly on this episode as has this Catholic novelist. Perhaps, however, the narrative of the Rye House Plot throws the shadows of guilt in that conspiracy a little too strongly upon the Earl of Essex, and is not sufficiently sympathetic with the general view of the innocence of Russell and Sidney.

In the main the story is not controversial and is fair-minded. It brings into singularly brilliant relief the contradictory sides of the nature of Charles II, and it may be said with truth that never has the "Merry Monarch," who in fact was not infrequently a very sad monarch, been presented with such lifelike vigor. Purely as a novel the book is spirited and readable.

It is the fashion nowadays to decry the historical novel, but if there were more stories of this class as carefully and clearly written as this, one feels sure that the historical novel might well come back into vogue.

Russian Expansion on the Pacific, 1641–1850. By F. A. Golder. The Arthur H. Clarke Company, Cleveland, Ohio. $5.

Students of American development as well as students of Russian development will be interested in Mr. Golder's volume. Based on original sources, it is of such importance that already the Russian Government has requested permission to translate and publish it in Russia. It is an authoritative and important contribution to the early intercourse of Russia with China and Japan, to the early history of Siberia, and to the history of the discovery and exploration of the western shores of our own continent. In it we see how Peter the Great encouraged explorations for the sake of science, and the Russian Government for the sake of tribute.

The Vatican: Its History, Its Treasures. T. J. Kennedy and James C. Gray, Editors. Letters and Arts Publishing Company, New York. $10.

This book has something of the authority of autobiography. The greatest residence on earth, treasure-house of Greek, Roman, and Renaissance art, home of ancient government and quaint surviving ceremony, itself a long page in history, through this volume from the De Vinne Press the Vatican virtually describes itself. A dozen men wrote the book—curators and directors of Papal museums, or students and investigators of what is in it or happened in it. The chapter dealing with the Vatican picture gallery, for example, is by the Director of that collection. The head of the Vatican mosaic factory sets forth its product and record. The description of the Papal customs, apartments, and administration is by Monsignor Baumgarten, domestic prelate to the Pope. Criticism of the Vatican art is by the scholars who have made their reputations through researches in the Vatican, notably Corrado Ricci, who writes of the Appartamento Borgia.

It is a well-rounded work, touching on every-

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thing from Dante's comment on the first Papal palace, "than which there is no more beautiful residence in the world," down to the eccentricities of Pius X, with an interesting photograph of the Conclave Chapel at his election. By reason of this completeness it has no space to be at once as exhaustive and as charmingly speculative as, say, Klaczko's "Rome and the Renaissance." On the other hand, it has not fallen into the dry desert of mere cataloguing. The book is no Baedeker, but rather a fascinating returned traveler at your fireside accurately recalling everything and explaining with an infinity of photographs in his hand.

Social Christianity in the Orient. By John E. Clough, D.D. The Macmillan Company, New York. $1.50.

This story of a man, a mission, and a movement discloses a strong and unique personality. A long, busy life prevented the record being written until in "age and feebleness extreme," though in mental vigor, a devoted wife set the story down in the words of the hero. The romance and reality of the Lone Star Mission in India to which Dr. Clough dedicated his powers in 1864 is a story of miracle, the sort of miracle that God makes possible to men when they use both the sense he has given them and their consecration to him. It is a marvel to find even now in remote minds and places in America the idea that foreign missions are of no use and missionaries are poor visionaries.

A half-century ago, long before the home land woke to such effort, strong men in foreign missions were practicing famine relief work, employing everything helpful in native life and belief, and finding as a result such mass movements toward Christianity as crowned Dr. Clough's labors in the Teluga Mission and are now proceeding in northern India. The secret of the so-called mass movement "seems to lie in the fundamental difference between the Orient and the Occident. We are used to individual decision and effort, but the East buries the individual in the family and the family in the caste. If the individual moves too rapidly, he is thrown out. If he (and we) exercise patience and continue to influence the group, the time comes when all will move—still a movement of individuals, but of many, each supporting the other and influencing many more who will follow."

Jewish Life in Modern Times. By Israel Cohen. Dodd, Mead & Co., New York. $3.

A highly interesting, instructive, and valuable work, this stands out conspicuously in the group of recent accounts of modern Judaism, both for its comprehensiveness and its analytic detail. Jewish life is depicted in graphic portrayals of its variegated types and traits and conditions, the effects of the modern forces environing it are described, and the problem of its resistance to their disintegrating tendency is presented as a question of life or death. The solution of it is Zionism—the creation in Palestine of a national home and a national life in a Jewish commonwealth as the center of world-wide Jewry. An effective presentation of this ideal and the progress already made toward its realization concludes the volume with an auspicious forecast. A noteworthy correction of current belief is that the Jewish people is not distinctively Semitic except in language, but a composite of several racial stocks in a type that has remained intact since their amalgamation forty centuries ago.

Writings of John Quincy Adams. Vol. IV. Edited by Worthington C. Ford. The Macmillan Company, New York. $3.50.

The present volume is peculiarly interesting, as it includes Mr. Adams's correspondence while our Minister at St. Petersburg during three critical years of our history (1811–13), before and during our war with Great Britain for commercial independence. These letters, whether to the Secretary of State or to his parents and friends at home, reveal European conditions during the Napoleonic war, Russia's friendliness to us, and what he as an experienced diplomat and statesman believed our National duty while our neutral rights were being outraged by the belligerents. He emphasizes our need of an efficient navy to maintain National honor and right, and scores the pacifists who would rather submit than fight. His letters were regularly opened and read by British and French officials, and he was baffled in attempts to get into the newspapers any correction of their falsehoods. His letters show what low account was made of the United States until it was provoked to demonstrate its sea power.

Principles of Secondary Education. Written by a Number of Specialists. Edited by Paul Monroe, Ph.D. The Macmillan Company, New York. $1.90.

This is the most important and valuable work upon its subject that has yet appeared. It is likely to hold its primacy till some consensus of opinion is reached. It has the merit of presenting the conclusions reached by the best present thought and practice in its field. These are here presented by many specialists more adequately than by any individual expert.

Dr. Monroe observes that in most countries except the United States the secondary school is the most important and influential part of the educational system. It must become as universal as elementary education, so important is it as a preparation for social service and a training in efficiency. It must, because "social democracy and social stability depend on specialization and efficient development of individual ability." It will not until "educators cease to think of educational ends in terms of subjects, and define their aims in terms of values based upon a scientific social economy." The wealth of material in thought and experience comprised in this volume appears in a table of contents that covers twenty-two pages.

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THE READER'S VIEW

REFORM BY LEGISLATION OR BY EXAMPLE—WHICH?

The interesting December 30 number of The Outlook contains two editorials which, though upon entirely different subjects, are in fact related to each other. They are "The Business of Being a Man," on the scientific side of the alcohol question, and "American Criticism and American Fiction," on the literature (including journals and newspapers) of the United States.

Every one will heartily approve of all that is said against alcohol in the first editorial. But have we the right to intrude upon the morals of our neighbors further than by persuasion or by the cogent force of example? Can spiritual uplift be accomplished by the coercive means of an act of legislation? If not, then legislation against alcohol will accomplish small good.

We of the United States have a strong leaning toward the belief that we can bring about *morality* through process of law. The tendency is doubtless an inheritance from those arch-reformers the old Puritans, who were firmly convinced of their divine right violently to assert particularized dogma to the point of persecution. To-day, though we dare not persecute with the savagery of the Puritans, we nevertheless undertake to declare forcibly whether or not our neighbor's idea of enjoyment is intelligent, notwithstanding the difficulty of cognizing all the data, scientific as well as psychic, which must be taken into consideration in forming with absolute certainty even one opinion on moral questions.

That the business of being a reformer is one of peril is shown by the briefest survey of Puritanism—which began in unquestionable piety and ended in a general denial of the virtue in human passions; thus becoming synonymous with racial destructiveness. We have ever before us the spectacle of two great cities of the United States, once the most virile and American of all, now in a state of decadence—one, its fine old intellect passing away, the other a sepulcher of happiness. It has been in these two cities that the reforming influence of Puritanism has reached its highest development until it has become incorporated into law and public thought, and it is in them that we find literature and the newspaper press showing most conspicuously the evidences of that condition expressed by Professor Bliss Perry and as quoted from Mr. Edward Garnett in the second editorial, viz., they are "rolling out the paste of human nature very flat, and are stamping it with machine-made patterns."

That all this is true may be made more emphatic by following other results of Puritanism in the two communities. Feminine apotheosis, for instance (a corollary of Puritanism, because women are naturally more adaptable to a puritanic utopia), sequestering woman to an extent, and therefore commensurately denying her knowledge, has attained so strong a hold that now sex comradeship is become mere unreasoning chivalrous sentiment. The literature, editorial and otherwise, expressive of this condition of sentimentality naturally makes of love a monstrous caricature. Peace, likewise a sequence of Puritanism's destructiveness, seems understood as a sentimental exaggeration, a species of poetic byword in the mouths of ornamental politicians, journalists, and extremists, who have no conception of its profound significance as the final outcome of changes within ourselves through long periods of time and the operation of laws of spiritual phenomena. They appear to believe that the passions that lead to war can be extracted by legislative surgical operations not endangering to their effectiveness in directions that affect the world's great work. Time, however, has shown in these two startling municipal examples that Puritan peace is corrosive, is worse than war—for to speak of two large communities as decadent is to name a nation's tragedy.

There are two sides to reformation by legislation—*i.e.*, by force without spiritual uplift: one, the good that may be accomplished; the other, the tendency to decay on the part of the reformer; and when reformers grow in number through some violent influence such as Puritanism, reform becomes leprous. The worship of a demonianism as an idealism is demoralizing. Turning back again to the carefully written editorial on the scientific arraignment against alcohol, we seem to feel skeptically that alcohol is but the immediate cause of alcoholism. Men and women who are enabled by their position and otherwise to be respected and maintain self-respect seldom fall victims. It is social conditions which encourage the greatest use of alcohol. For these conditions the reformer, as an integer of society, is responsible in part. Does he observe this? Does the acrobatic Mr. Sunday, who is now in Philadelphia, diligently damaging the refinement of religion, speak of it? Who is to reform the reformers?

HORACE T. TOMPKINS.

Philadelphia, Pennsylvania.

ARTEMUS WARD AND THE WAR

No one knows where Artemus Ward is, but his sufferings must be dreadful when he reads The Outlook. England's violations of neutrality are *tu quoque*. Artemus would probably

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say this is 2 bad. The English theologians must oppose Germany because of her contempt of the rights of small nations. Think of A. Ward's mental suffering when he learns that and remembers only the Transvaal and Persia!

Then Germany's preparedness is militarism —a great sin—while the unpreparedness of the United States is a shame and sure to be regretted in the future.

Poor Artemus! He died 2 soon.

Read Lincoln's second inaugural and judge what our proper attitude should be from that. Lincoln wrote after four years of reflection on our war. The conclusions he reached are applicable to the present war, and lesser minds cannot improve on them. He does not say that Jeff Davis, the slave-owners, or the abolitionists were to blame for the war, but that "all saw it coming and all tried to avert it." So now, instead of blaming the Kaiser, the Czar, or King George, why not say as Lincoln did? He considered the war as punishment for the offense of slavery.

Why not consider the present war as punishment for the crimes of Servia, the crushing of the Transvaal Republic, the atrocities of the Congo, and the German industry of furnishing war materials and teachers in the art of war to many other nations?

Is it not possible that there is a connection between these offenses and the present war? Is it not probable that the war will go on till every dollar derived from the gold and diamond mines of the Transvaal, every dollar derived from the forced labor and ivory and rubber from the Congo, and all gained from the invention and sale of war materials has been spent, wasted, and destroyed? "With malice toward none and charity for all" doesn't mean to show partiality, but to be strictly impartial.

Washington, D. C. A. T. LEUTH.

A PERSONAL TRIBUTE

I am one of the many who are reading with deep interest Dr. Abbott's "Reminiscences," and one of the few who can remember the events and conditions so graphically and sympathetically described. In The Outlook for December 23 Dr. Abbott pays deserved tribute to some of the great protagonists in the good work of the reconstruction and regeneration of the South—some of whom it was my great privilege to know personally and well. But he omits—I am sure not intentionally—the name which should stand at the head of the list. I refer to Dr. Barnes Sears, the first general agent of the Peabody Board.

It was to Dr. Sears—to his wisdom, his tact, his gentle but strong impulse, his immediate labors, and his far-seeing provision that was due —more, I think, than to any other agency—the great change wrought in the public sentiment and activity of the South during the years of his agency. My dear friend Dr. Curry was indeed a whirlwind and thunderbolt of power and influence; but he built upon lines already laid down by Dr. Sears and under conditions already prepared by him. This no one would more cordially acknowledge than Dr. Curry himself, were he now living.

The Peabody Board was established in 1867. It was about 1868 that Dr. Sears first visited Lexington, Virginia, where I was then a young professor. I well remember the strong local prejudice aroused by his expected visit. I also remember how cordially he was received and his work welcomed by General Robert E. Lee, then President of Washington College, who openly threw his great influence in support of Dr. Sears and of the cause he represented. I may add that it is among my own most grateful recollections that I gave my small influence in behalf of Dr. Sears, and afterwards, on his invitation, co-operated with him, by public lectures and otherwise, in Virginia, Tennessee, and South Carolina. I was then, and have since been, greatly indebted to him, and it is only a debt that I now poorly discharge in asking the publication in The Outlook of this tribute to his memory and to his great services.

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TAKING ONE'S MEDICINE

When I was a boy, everything dated back to the cotton famine, the greatest disaster ever experienced by a civilized community at peace with the world.

True, I supposed it was caused by the hand of Providence, or maybe the boll-weevil.

It was not till many years later that I understood that this misery and desolation—the look of age in the faces of childhood—was due to the fact that a part of the United States, being at war with another part, assumed the right to interfere with the shipment of cotton between the British ports of the Bahamas and the English port of Liverpool, and had promulgated the doctrine of "continuous voyage" for that purpose. Perhaps it would be more correct to say that these things were directly due to the fact that England acquiesced in the belligerent's right to conduct the war pretty much in his own way at a cost of what not of incidental inconvenience to neutral nations.

The pecuniary loss to *one English county* was about equivalent to the war indemnity levied by Prussia on France after the war of 1870.

Batavia, New York. ***

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BY THE WAY

Testifying in the "Progressive Farmer" to the good character of his Negro neighbors, a North Carolina man says: "There are eight Negro families within a half-mile of my home. In the thirteen years I have lived here I have never had a lock on corn-crib or smoke-house. We never lock our house when we go to town or church. The only thing I have had stolen from the place was a shrub scythe, and that was stolen by a white man." This testimony is the more significant because editorially the paper that publishes it thinks it "would be far better if white-owned farms and Negro-owned farms were not thus sandwiched together."

A correspondent of "Collier's" who has been visiting Canada says: "Never, I think, has the *entente* between the two countries [Canada and the United States] been so strong. 'The Americans can have anything they want up here,' one distinguished Canadian said to me. 'If they should come again looking for free trade, they won't be refused.'" So, while the peoples of Europe are sowing seeds of hate, good will between the English-speaking peoples of America is apparently increasing.

Apropos of the Spectator's article on mushroom-hunting in The Outlook of January 13 a subscriber sends this caution: "A year and a half ago my daughter and I breakfasted on a so-called 'mushroom;' while its taste was delicious, two hours afterward we found we were badly poisoned; and at the end of twenty months we are alive, but still weak and of little use. The country is adorable, but look out for your mushrooms! Don't be too enthusiastic about picking and eating them."

English school-boys, like those of other nations, sometimes get their facts mixed in examinations. The "University Correspondent" gives these examples of their mistakes: "The King was not to order taxis without the consent of Parliament." "Henry VIII was very fat, besides being a Nonconformist." "To germinate is to become a naturalised German." "B.Sc. stands for Boy Scout."

Concerning Bernard Shaw's "Pygmalion" the "Dramatist" says: "Can you imagine for one minute the surpassing effectiveness this play would possess if it were shorn of all authorial egotism? . . . . Given the mind to conceive and the wit to perceive such stuff, the average Broadway melodramatist would turn it to better account. It is a discredit to Shaw and not to his audience that 'Pygmalion' is not able to hold out longer with the exceptional players employed."

The growth of the sentiment against the use of alcoholic drinks is significantly seen in the announcement that with the close of last month the sale of liquor is abolished everywhere on the Pennsylvania Railroad system. In 1912 the road stopped the sale of intoxicants on its trains. Last month the only remaining bars in its stations, those at New York City and at Philadelphia, were given up, and the entire system is now "dry."

Lady Gregory, the well-known Irish playwright, is visiting America again. She sees many things in this country to admire, and especially likes our women's colleges. "I have two little granddaughters," she said to a reporter. "One is one year old, and one is three. And my hope for them is that they may come to an American girls' college." When Lady Gregory was consulted by a family in London about the education of a daughter, she said that "there was only one doubt in her mind as to what to do with her—and that was whether she should go to Smith or Vassar."

Military styles in dress, says the "Youth's Companion," have been gradually establishing themselves as a result of the war. "High, soldierly collars, belts with little pockets, suits with braided fronts and epaulet effects, three-cornered hats, gaiter-topped shoes, and flowing capes—all are expressions of military enthusiasm. . . . But perhaps the most noticeable influence that the war has had upon style is shown in the new Cossack coat—it is an almost exact reproduction of the coat worn by the Russian Cossack."

The pinch of hard times seems to be lessening, if one may judge from these headlines found in one day's issue of a New York paper recently: "Senator Clark Gets His $7,000 Tablecloth," "Mr. Frick Buys $50,000 Canvas," "$15,300 Rug Goes to John D." Another paper the next day advertised: "Eider Down Quilts Reduced from $400 to $200 each." Still another announced: "Chippendale Bookcase Sells for $3,750." The reporter's comment on the last-named object of luxury is seemingly superfluous; namely, that the bookcase was "of an exceedingly pleasing design."

The Burroughs Nature Club of Brooklyn, through its president, Mr. Albert Houghton Pratt, has expressed its desire to limit the number of cats by legislative restriction. It declares that cats are not only enemies of bird life in our cities, but that they hold first place among domesticated animals as carriers of disease. A census shows 116,000 cats in Brooklyn, and this number, it is thought, may be materially reduced with advantage to all—possibly even including the cats, for many of them are left to starve during the summer vacations of their owners.

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